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Priestley, Joseph, 1733-
1804.

The theological and
miscellaneous works of

THE
Theological and Miscellaneous
WORKS
OF
JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. &c.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,
BY JOHN TOWILL RUTT.

VOLUME I.
PART I.
CONTAINING
MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE,
1733—1787.

PRINTED BY GEORGE SMALLFIELD, HACKNEY.

TO THE
RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

MY DEAR RAJAH,

I CANNOT deny myself the pleasure of expressing on this page the gratification your voyage to England has afforded me, in your personal acquaintance. This I had, for some time, been taught to desire, from the report of friends who had shared your society in India, and from the knowledge I had acquired of your valuable writings.

The purpose of those writings, the principles they inculcate, and the spirit and energy they discover in the promotion of truth and righteousness, all serve to assure me that I shall, in the following pages, present to you an appropriate offering of respectful attachment. They will describe, chiefly in his own language, the progress, from earliest years to maturity, of one who had eminently listened to the dictate of eastern wisdom, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might;" whether he were extending the boundaries of science, collecting or communicating the stores of literature, recommending a just and equitable civil policy, or, especially, cherishing the faith and hope, or performing the willing ser-

VICES of a Christian, that "highest style of man," as he ever regarded it.

And now, my dear Rajah, accept my best wishes, that when you shall bid adieu to your new associates, by whom you will be long remembered, you may have a prosperous passage to your native shores. There, while the social institutions of India, and the condition of her people, worthy objects of patriotic anxiety, shall be improving around you, may years of mental advancement, and of wise and benevolent activity, be your portion. Thus, may your name survive, distinguished on the fairest page of human history, among those who, under different dispensations of an all-righteous Providence, with greatly varied talents, and amidst vast disproportions of worldly advantages, have alike "served their generation according to the will of God."

I remain,

My dear Rajah,

Yours sincerely,

J. T. RUTT.

NEWINGTON GREEN,

Oct. 25, 1831.

PREFACE.

THE Volume, of which the first part is now concluded, will complete Dr. Priestley's Theological and Miscellaneous Works, comprehending his own Memoirs, which he left for publication.

Since I formed this design, in 1815, it has been encouraged by the obliging communication of his original letters to various correspondents. I also obtained, by Mr. Belsham's kindness, which I acknowledge in the Introduction, all the letters he had received from Dr. Priestley. But I am peculiarly indebted to the friendly and liberal attentions of Mr. Thomas Gibson for a large collection of MSS., which had come into his possession as Mr. Belsham's executor. They consist of Dr. Priestley's letters to Mr. Lindsey, during more than thirty years, and various other originals, forming a highly interesting correspondence.

With such valuable assistance, so freely proffered, I could not hesitate to determine on a more extended biography than had been first contemplated. Distinguishing the Memoirs, so that they may still be read, exactly as Dr. Priestley left them, I have adopted a division into Chapters, according to the order of time, frequently illustrating the Memoirs and Correspondence by passages from original letters, chiefly those between Dr. Priestley's contemporaries, and, generally, his intimate friends.*

* In the notes, W. designs the "Theological and Miscellaneous Works," M. R. "the Monthly Repository," and T. C. the remarks of Mr. Thomas Cooper, in the American edition of the Memoirs.

It is much to be regretted that I have been able to procure scarcely any letters from Dr. Priestley's correspondents, except a few which have been already printed. Mr. Joseph Priestley, in the preface to the *Memoirs*, mentions "letters addressed to his father by persons of eminence" in America and Europe. These he declined to print, for reasons affording little encouragement to an application, which, however, I could not fail to make, on the present occasion. With that gentleman's sense of propriety, the only hindrance, I am persuaded, to a compliance with my request, I have not the least right or desire to interfere, though I should have been gratified, in no small degree, by an occasion to acknowledge some assistance in the progress and completion of this undertaking, from a quarter so respectable as the surviving family of Dr. Priestley.

Should Mr. Priestley allow himself, especially now, after the lapse of many years, to review his determination in 1805, he may perhaps yet bring those letters before the public, under the guidance of his own discretion. I need not say how honourable to his father's memory would be such a publication, or how much valuable interest he would thus communicate to whatever my best exertions in the arrangement and illustration of Dr. Priestley's biography may enable me to accomplish.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE name of JOSEPH PRIESTLEY cannot be forgotten or undistinguished, while the scientific history of his age and country shall be preserved. Nor was he unknown as a writer on various topics of civil policy and general literature. Yet, as a serious, diligent, and persevering investigator of moral and religious truth, an example of active virtue and unobtrusive piety in the commerce of the world, and a pattern of Christian resignation under trials of no common character, he will be chiefly considered in this attempt to describe the occurrences, employments, and associations, of his life.

After too long a delay, from unavoidable hindrances, I now propose, so far as ability for mental exertion may be continued, to employ, according to my best judgment, whatever assistances I have been able to procure. Thus would I endeavour to satisfy the claims of those friends to the memory of Dr. Priestley, who encouraged by their subscriptions an edition of his Theological and Miscellaneous Works, to which I have devoted, during the last fifteen years, all the leisure I could command, amidst several other literary engagements.

The readers of those Works will be aware of information, remarks, or anecdotes, scattered through the Editor's notes and prefaces, which might have been reserved for the Author's biography, to illustrate his character, or to describe his personal, social, and controversial history. I could not, however, allow myself to withhold from the

volumes of Dr. Priestley's Works, while in the press, whatever elucidations my recollection could supply ; and it is designed to enrich this volume with the whole of that interesting portion of his Works, the auto-biography. His purpose in preparing that memoir is thus explained in the introductory paragraph :

(1.) Having thought it right to leave behind me some account of my *friends* and *benefactors*, it is in a manner necessary that I also give some account of *myself*; and as the like has been done by many persons, and for reasons which posterity has approved, I make no further apology for following their example. If my writings in general have been useful to my contemporaries, I hope that this account of myself will not be without its use to those who may come after me, and especially in promoting virtue and piety, which, I hope I may say, it has been my care to practise myself, as it has been my business to inculcate them upon others.*

My justly respected friend, Mr. Belsham, kindly bequeathed to me, in aid of this design, all the letters he had received from Dr. Priestley. To that collection has been added, by very obliging attentions, the letters to Mr. Lindsey, from their commencement in 1769, to within a few days of Dr. Priestley's decease, with those written to other long endeared friends and associates. Of such valuable additions to the Author's auto-biography, with a few letters from his correspondents, I shall in the following pages largely avail myself.

* In Dr. Priestley's letter to Mr. Lindsey, from " Castle-head, Sept. 9, 1787," is the following notice of time and place for this commencement of the auto-biography :

" I have told you that I intended to write some memoirs of *myself*, to be published after my death. I have begun them here. I shall shew the work to you and Mrs. Lindsey. I do not mean to make it large, and may nearly print it while I am here." MS.

CHAPTER I.

(1733—1752.)

THERE have been a few, highly distinguished among their contemporaries, not only by superior talents, but by a wise, solicitous, and successful application of them to the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind. These, whom “the Author of nature has thought fit to mingle, from time to time, among the societies of men,”* require not for their just reputation an ancestry “of gentle blood,” or the herald’s “help to fame,” always, in the estimation of wisdom, “slender” as “the chisel’s” aid, and now, especially, of a value every day rapidly decreasing.

I have not been able to discover that any ancestors of Joseph Priestley had been eminent in rank or station; yet they appear to have occupied respectable conditions in middle life. The late Mr. Samuel Parkes, well known by his valuable publications on chemistry, was induced, in 1815, from regard to Dr. Priestley’s memory, to visit the neighbourhood of his birth-place. There, “in the churchyard of Birstal,” he found, inscribed with the name of Priestley, “three handsome tombs, made entirely of stone.” This was “the burial-place” of Dr. Priestley’s immediate family. Mr. Parkes was farther shewn, in “the old chapelyard” of “Heck-

* *Bolingbroke.*

mondwick," a neighbouring village, "a row of eight very handsome tombs, built alike, and entirely of stone, belonging to the Priestley family," all, indications of some distinction, amidst "the graves with bending osiers bound." Mr. Parkes was also "informed" by Dr. Priestley's nephew, who attended him, "that theirs was one of the largest and most extended families in Yorkshire."*

From this scanty information respecting the ancestry of Joseph Priestley, I hasten to that portion of his artless narrative which extends to the period when, by the diligent use of what literary aids the circumstances of a very private life could afford, he was well prepared to improve the advantages of an academical education.

(2.) My father, Jonas Priestley,† was the youngest son of Joseph Priestley, a maker and dresser of woollen cloth.‡ His first wife, my mother, was the only child of Joseph Swift, a farmer at Shafton, a village about six miles south-east of Wakefield. By this wife he had six children, four sons and two daughters. I, the oldest, was born on the thirteenth of March, old style, 1733, at Fieldhead,§ about six miles south-west of Leeds, in Yorkshire. My mother dying in 1739, my father married again in 1745, and by his second wife had three daughters.

* See "Account of a visit to Birstal." M. R. XI. 274—276.

† "Who died Feb. 18, 1779, aged 79." See inscription on his tomb at Birstal. *Ibid.* p. 276. The Rev. Timothy Priestley (see 23) says, their father "never expended sixpence on physic in his life. He was a very corpulent man, and was well and dead within eighteen hours." See a "Funeral Sermon on Dr. Priestley," p. 44.

‡ "Who resided at Birstal-Fieldhead, and was a man as much famed for his heavenly conduct as his grandson has since been for natural abilities." *Ibid.* p. 35. He died Aug. 2, 1745, "in his 85th year." M. R. XI. 276. Dr. Priestley says his "grandfather was a churchman." W. XIX. 154.

§ Birstal-Field, two miles from the village of Birstal. The house, in 1815, was still shewn to inquirers, as the birth-place of Dr. Priestley. M. R. XI. 274.

(3.) My mother having children so fast, I was very soon committed to the care of her father, and with him I continued with little interruption till my mother's death.*

(4.) It is but little that I can recollect of my mother. I remember, however, that she was careful to teach me the Assembly's Catechism,† and to give me the best instructions the little

* Referring to this period of his life, (in his "Examination of Reid," &c., S. viii.) Dr. Priestley says, "It was my misfortune to have the idea of darkness, and the ideas of invisible malignant spirits and apparitions, very closely connected in my infancy." W. III. 50.

† "The Shorter Catechism, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and approved, *Anno* 1648, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to be a Directory for catechising such as are of weaker Capacity."

Rev. T. Priestley says, "At four years of age Joseph could repeat the Assembly's Catechism, without missing a word. When about six and a half, he would now and then ask me to kneel down with him while he prayed." *P. Sermon*. pp. 35, 36.

Dr. John Walker, no unwilling censor of Nonconformists, objects to the Catechism, as extending "to a length [107 Q.] that as much exceeds the memories of children as many of the doctrines in it do their other capacities." See "An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy," (1714,) Pt. i. 34.

Dr. Calamy replies, "It is well known that we have many children at four and five years, among us, not to say younger, whose memories retain it most exactly." These he describes as thus furnished "with matter for their thoughts to work upon with advantage, after they are advanced in years." See "The Church and Dissenters Compared as to Persecution," (1719,) p. 36.

Yet Watts, even in what he calls "the days of younger assurance," before he had rejected the systematic theology of this Catechism, thus freely censures, as if referring to Dr. Calamy's apology, the too early use of it :

"The business and duty of the teacher is not merely to teach words, but things. Words written on the memory, without ideas or sense in the mind, will never incline a child to his duty, nor save his soul. The young creature will neither be the wiser nor the better for being able to repeat accurate definitions, and theorems in divinity, without knowing what they mean.

"Why should religion, of all things, be taught in such a way as is least suited to make the learner understand it? If they will put a man's coat on a child, the child may be cumbered with his long and loose habiliments, and yet be starved with cold." See "A Discourse on Instruction by Catechisms," S. v. vii., "Works of Watts," (1800,) IV. 211, 212, 219.

It was remarked by Dr. Johnson, that Watts "has provided instruction for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons, to the enlightened

time that I was at home. Once in particular, when I was playing with a pin, she asked me where I got it; and on telling her that I found it at my uncle's, who lived very near to my father, and where I had been playing with my cousins, she made me carry it back again; no doubt to impress my mind, as it could not fail to do, with a clear idea of the distinction of property, and of the importance of attending to it. She died in the hard winter of 1739,* not long after being delivered of my youngest brother,† and having dreamed a little before her death that she was in a delightful place, which she particularly described, and imagined to be heaven, the last words which she spake, as my aunt informed me, were, "Let me go to that fine place."

(5.) On the death of my mother I was taken home, my brothers taking my place, and was sent to school in the neighbourhood. But being without a mother, and my father incumbered with a large family, a sister of my father's, in the

readers of Malbranche and Locke." Thus he published a "first catechism, to be begun at three or four years," a "second for seven or eight," and, in 1730, "the Assembly's Shorter Catechism," yet as "by no means the fittest for the instruction of children in their youngest years, but proposed only to youth of twelve or fourteen;" and for these he "added explaining notes." *Ibid.* p. 248.

The practice of committing a body of divinity to the memory of an infant, long survived these just and able exposures, as I can testify from my own experience of a very early parental instruction, which ever proposed, under the influence of piety and kind affection, the moral, intellectual, and especially the religious, improvement of a child. Nor, I apprehend, is this method yet generally disused in Calvinistic schools and families, though some, like Watts, may have duly appreciated "the inconveniences of teaching children what they do not understand." *Ibid.* p. 214.

* Dec. 28. The frost "began on Christmas-day. Some people were frozen to death in the streets and fields, and upon the Thames, where several ships were sunk by the driving of the ice." *Chron. Hist.* (1747,) II. 364.

† In 1815, Mr. Parkes was introduced, at Birstal, to another brother, named Joshua, aged 80, with a wife in her 84th year. They were dwelling in a "very neat cottage, quite in the style of simple country life." Both expressed a grateful and tender recollection of the considerate kindness with which, long before his decease, Dr. Priestley had provided for their permanent support, the wife saying, "she could never hear the name of that good man mentioned without being overcome." M. R. XI. 275.

year 1742, relieved him of all care of me, by taking me entirely to herself, and considering me as her child, having none of her own. From this time she was truly a parent to me, till her death in 1764.

(6.) My aunt was married to a Mr. Keighley, a man who had distinguished himself for his zeal for religion and for his public spirit. He was also a man of considerable property, and dying soon after I went to them, left the greatest part of his fortune to my aunt for life, and much of it at her disposal after her death.*

(7.) By this truly pious and excellent woman, who knew no other use of wealth, or of talents of any kind, than to do good, and who never spared herself for this purpose,† I was sent to several schools in the neighbourhood, especially to a large free school,‡ under the care of a clergyman, Mr. Hague, under whom, at the age of twelve or thirteen, I first began to make any progress in the Latin tongue,§ and acquired the elements of Greek. But about the same time that I began to learn Greek at this public school, I learned Hebrew on holidays of the Dissenting minister of the place, Mr. Kirkby;|| and upon the removal of Mr. Hague from the free-school, Mr. Kirkby opening a school of his own, I was wholly under his care. With

* See 43.

† In the conclusion to "Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity" are some very grateful recollections on this interesting subject. W. III. 539.

‡ Probably at Batley, a parish adjoining to Birstal. "The minister is required by the foundation deed to teach English and writing," a rare stipulation for a grammar-school in 1613. Mr. Carlisle says, "No register of scholars educated here has been kept, but it is credibly stated that Dr. Priestley had the early part of his education in this school." See "Description of Endowed Grammar-schools," II. 781.

There was another free grammar-school, equally accessible, at Drighlington, in the parish of Birstal, founded by an Archbishop of Armagh, in 1678. Here, however, in "the register" is not to be found "the name of a single scholar." *Ibid.*

§ Rev. T. Priestley says, "Joseph had soon acquired more learning than the common schoolmasters, for he rarely spent an hour for any recreation. From eleven to about thirteen he had read most of Mr. Bunyan's works, and other authors on religion, besides the common Latin authors." *P. Sermon*, p. 36.

|| Minister of Heckmondwick more than forty years.

this instruction, I had acquired a pretty good knowledge of the learned languages at the age of sixteen; but from this time, Mr. Kirkby's increasing infirmities* obliged him to relinquish his school, and beginning to be of a weakly consumptive habit,† so that it was not thought advisable to send me to any other place of education, I was left to conduct my studies as well as I could till I went to the academy at Daventry, in the year 1752.

(8.) From the time I discovered any fondness for books, my aunt entertained hopes of my being a minister, and I readily entered into her views: but my ill health obliged me to turn my thoughts another way; and, with a view to trade, I learned the modern languages, French, Italian, and High Dutch, without a master; and in the first and last of them I translated and wrote letters for an uncle of mine, who was a merchant,‡ and who intended to put me into a counting-house in Lisbon. A house was actually engaged to receive me there, and every thing was nearly ready for my undertaking the voyage; but getting better health, my former destination for the ministry was resumed, and I was sent to Daventry, to study under Mr. Ashworth, afterwards Dr. Ashworth.§

During this important period, when the diligent scholar was left to his own literary resources, and impaired health appeared to forbid the indulgence of his favourite purpose, he had, while completing his eighteenth year, corresponded with Mr. Haynes, a Dissenting minister at Sheffield, whom he afterwards mentions in his Memoirs.|| By the friendly attentions of the Rev.

* Mr. Kirkby, who died in 1754, was "dreadfully afflicted with the stone." *F. Serm.* p. 36.

† "Between twelve and thirteen he was nearly carried off by a complaint in his lungs. Never human creature was more tenderly nursed. His aunt was fond of him in the extreme." *Ibid.*

‡ Probably Mr. Priestley, of Red House, Leeds, whom I think Dr. P. once named to me as his uncle.

§ "Dr. Caleb Ashworth, born in Lancashire, in 1709, was a student under Dr. Doddridge, and eventually his successor. He died in July 1775." *M. R. VIII.* 562, *note.* See *Ibid.* pp. 693—696; *XIII.* 82.

|| 61.

Joseph Hunter, I am enabled here to insert, from a copy in the writer's *autograph*, his answer to the letters of Joseph Priestley. Those are now, probably, irrecoverable, but their subjects may be easily conjectured from the remarks of his correspondent.

MR. PRIESTLEY,

Dec. 31, 1750.

I RECEIVED both yours; but the benevolence so often expressed for you, as a young scholar of diligent and pious character, was not of so much account as you seem to have rated it at. As to any hints in my power respecting the conduct of your studies, I should be glad to offer them as I have opportunity; but various of those which would have occurred on the supposition that you intended some time to wear the ministerial character, would be impertinent, as I now hear you intend some other learned profession.*

This, however, on any scheme of learning, is a proper hint, that all study is in order to a useful life, and therefore every degree of it injurious to bodily health will defeat its own end; and if it does not wear out the body prematurely, will at least be a fatal *remora* to an active life. This I say in reference to what I have heard of your very laborious application.

As to literature, properly, or the study of languages, what occurs to me at present is, that Rabinical skill, which you seem to have some itch for, will least answer the pains you will be obliged to employ upon it; and if it was worth the labour, yet would much of it be lost, without some sufficient tutor to lead you first into the idiom of the Hebrew language. The other learned languages, viz. Latin and Greek, you cannot be too exact in; and as probably you have had a competency of school helps, your own application will furnish the means of a ready accuracy and critical skill in both of them. But that labour will be shortened, and made much more effectual, if you compare the classics in both languages, with translations of reputation. No one means of assisting youth, and short-

* Probably the medical. Rev. T. Priestley says, "he was not fully fixed at this time whether his profession should be physic or divinity." *F. Serm.* p. 37.

ening the drudgery of that sort, so useful, yet so neglected. Tacitus is a fine Latin historian: if you could procure Gordon's translation, you would read him to much advantage, and by that single book become acquainted with the phraseology and diction, in a good measure, of other histories of note which you will have inclination to consult. Dunster's Horace would be of like good use respecting poetic language. I proceed no further in this, because this hint will lead you on to all I intend by it.

Joseph Priestley would be easily inclined, on this recommendation, to "procure Gordon's Tacitus," a translation which had been very lately executed. Whatever assistance he might thence derive for ascertaining the sense and spirit of the Roman historian, the liberal sentiments avowed in the "Political Discourses," annexed by the translator, could scarcely fail to engage his attention. It may, perhaps, be not unfairly conjectured, that the young student thus instructed, would be easily encouraged to entertain those just and enlightened views of civil policy which he first disclosed in his "Essay on Government." I return to his narrative:

(9.) Looking back, as I often do, upon this period of my life, I see the greatest reason to be thankful to God for the pious care of my parents and friends, in giving me religious instruction. My mother was a woman of exemplary piety, and my father also had a strong sense of religion, praying with his family morning and evening, and carefully teaching his children and servants the Assembly's Catechism, which was all the system of which he had any knowledge. In the latter part of his life he became very fond of Mr. Whitfield's writings, and other works of a similar kind, having been brought up in the principles of Calvinism, and adopting them, but without ever giving much attention to matters of speculation, and entertaining no bigoted aversion to those who differed from him on the subject.

(10.) The same was the case with my excellent aunt; she was truly Calvinistic in principle, but was far from confining salvation to those who thought as she did on religious subjects. Being left in good circumstances, her home was the resort of all the Dissenting ministers in the neighbourhood, without distinction; and those who were the most obnoxious on account of their heresy, were almost as welcome to her, if she thought them honest and good men, (which she was not unwilling to do,) as any others.

(11.) The most heretical ministers in the neighbourhood, were Mr. Graham, of Halifax;* and Mr. Walker of Leeds;† but they were frequently my aunt's guests. With the former of these my intimacy grew with my years, but chiefly after I became a preacher. We kept up a correspondence to the last, thinking alike on most subjects. To him I dedicated my "Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit;"‡ and when he died,§ he left me his manuscripts, his Polyglot Bible, and two hundred pounds. Besides being a rational Christian, he was an excellent classical scholar, and wrote Latin with great facility and elegance. He frequently wrote to me in that language.

(12.) Thus I was brought up with sentiments of piety, but without bigotry; and having, from my earliest years, given much attention to the subject of religion, I was as much confirmed as I well could be in the principles of Calvinism,|| all the books that came in my way having that tendency.

* Thus represented, in 1771, by Rev. Dan Taylor, a General Baptist, who then resided in his neighbourhood:

"Mr. Graham preached before the dissenting clergy at Leeds, a discourse published under the title of 'Repentance the only Condition of Final Acceptance.' Mr. G. asserted that 'the doctrine of atonement was not known, nor believed in the world till many hundred years after our Lord and his apostles had left it.' He was answered by Dan Taylor." See his "Memoirs," pp. 83, 85, and *infra*.

† "Rev. Thomas Walker, M. A., a very eminent minister at Cocker-mouth, Durham, and at Mill-Hill Chapel, Leeds, where he died, in 1764, greatly lamented by all who knew him. His nephew was Rev. George Walker, F. R. S." M. R., VI. 587.

‡ In 1777. W. III. 199.

§ In 1782. *Gent. Mag.*, LII. 357.

|| In his "Reply to the Monthly Review" (1783) *ad fin.*, Dr. Priestley

(13.) The weakness of my constitution, which often led me to think that I should not be long-lived, contributed to give my mind a still more serious turn; and having read many books of *experiences*, and, in consequence, believing that a *new birth*, produced by the immediate agency of the spirit of God, was necessary to salvation, and not being able to satisfy myself that I *had* experienced any thing of the kind, I felt occasionally such distress of mind as it is not in my power to describe, and which I still look back upon with horror. Notwithstanding I had nothing very material to reproach myself with, I often concluded that God had forsaken me, and that mine was like the case of Francis Spira,* to whom, as he imagined, repentance and salvation were denied. In that state of mind I remember reading the account of “the man in an iron cage,” in the “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,”† with the greatest perturbation.

(14.) I imagine that even these conflicts of mind were not without their use, as they led me to think habitually of God and a future state. And though my feelings were, then, no doubt, too full of terror, what remained of them was a deep reverence for divine things, and in time a pleasing satisfaction which can never be effaced, and, I hope, was strengthened as I have advanced in life, and acquired more rational notions of religion. The remembrance, however, of what I sometimes felt in that state of ignorance and darkness, gives me a peculiar sense of the value of rational principles of religion, and of which I can give but an imperfect description to others.

(15.) As *truth*, we cannot doubt, must have an advantage over *error*, we may conclude that the want of these peculiar

describes himself as “having been educated in all the gloom and darkness of Calvinism.” W. XVIII. 37.

It was, no doubt, at this early period that he adhered to a mode of worship constantly practised in the Established Churches of Rome and England, though not generally adopted by Trinitarian Nonconformists; “praying conscientiously to all the Three Persons, without distinction, only beginning with the Father.” See “*Hist. of Early Opinions*,” *Introd.* S. iii. W. VI. 30, 31.

* Described in a book entitled, “*The Horrible End of Francis Spira*.” It has been suspected that “the tale is fabulous.” M. R., I. 255.

† Part I. *ad init.* See *supra*, p. 7, note †.

feelings is compensated by something of greater value, which arises to others from always having seen things in a just and pleasing light; from having always considered the Supreme Being as the kind parent of all his offspring. This, however, not having been my case, I cannot be so good a judge of the effects of it. At all events, we ought always to inculcate just views of things, assuring ourselves that *proper* feelings and *right* conduct will be the consequence of them.

(16.) In the latter part of the interval between my leaving the grammar-school and going to the academy, which was something more than two years, I attended two days in the week upon Mr. Haggerstone, a Dissenting minister in the neighbourhood,* who had been educated under Mr. Maclaurin.† Of him I learned geometry, algebra, and various branches of mathematics, theoretical and practical. And at the same time I read, but with little assistance from him, “Gravesande’s Elements of Natural Philosophy,”‡ “Watts’s Logic,” “Locke’s Essay on the Human Understanding,” &c., and made such a proficiency in other branches of learning, that when I was admitted at the academy,§ (which was on Coward’s|| foundation,) I was excused all the studies of the first year, and a great part of those of the second.

* At Hopton. He removed to Osset, in 1758.

† An eminent mathematician. Died 1746, aged 48.

‡ “‘Physices Elementa Mathematica, experimentis confirmata, sive Introductio ad Philosophiam Newtoniam;’ ouvrage excellent composé en partie dans les barques publiques, sans que le bruit et le babil des voyageurs pussent le tirer de ses profondes méditations, et le distraire des calculs le plus compliqués” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* (1789) IV. 214.

Gravesande visited England, as secretary to an embassy, in 1715, when he formed an intimacy with Newton, and was chosen F. R. S. In 1734, he became professor of philosophy at Leyden, where he died, in 1742, (“d’un excès de travail,”) aged 54. *Ibid.* See *Biog. Dict.* (1784) VI. 200; Noble’s *Biog. Hist.* (1806) III. 507.

§ In 1752. See *supra*, p. 8.

|| William Coward, a very opulent merchant, munificent, though singularly eccentric, died in 1738, “aged 90.” *Gent. Mag.* VIII. 221. See “Correspondence of Doddridge,” III. 232, *note*.

For “a brief account of the academy at Daventry,” removed from Northampton on the death of Dr. Doddridge, see Belsham’s “Memoirs of Lindsey,” (1812,) p. 286, *note*.

(17.) In the same interval I spent the latter part of every week with Mr. Thomas, a Baptist minister, now* of Bristol, but then of Gildersome, a village about four miles from Leeds, who had had no learned education. Him I instructed in Hebrew, and by that means made myself a considerable proficient in that language. At the same time I learned Chaldee and Syriac, and just began to read Arabic. Upon the whole, going to the academy later than is usual, and being thereby better furnished, I was qualified to appear there with greater advantage.

(18.) Before I went from home I was very desirous of being admitted a communicant in the congregation which I had always attended, and the old minister, as well as my aunt, were as desirous of it as myself; but the elders of the church, who had the government of it, refused me, because, when they interrogated me on the subject of the *sin of Adam*, I appeared not to be quite orthodox, not thinking that all the human race (supposing them not to have any sin of their own) were liable to the wrath of God, and “the pains of hell for ever,”† on account of that sin only; for such was the question that was put to me. Some time before, having then no doubt of the truth of the doctrine, I well remember being much distressed, that I could not feel a proper repentance for the sin of Adam; taking it for granted, that, without *this*, it could not be forgiven me. Mr. Haggerstone, above-mentioned, was a little more liberal than the members of the congregation in which I was brought up,

* 1787. See *supra*, p. 2, *note*.

† Thus concludes the answer to Q. 19 of the Assembly’s “Shorter Catechism;” a conclusion to which the Church of England has not proceeded, content with teaching her catechumens to confess that they are “by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath.”

Yet in her 9th article, “Of original or birth-sin,” she declares, that “in every person born into this world, it deserveth God’s wrath and damnation;” a declaration which “the Protestant Episcopal Church” in the United States rejected, in 1785, on a revision and reduction to 20 of the 39 articles. See their “Book of Common Prayer.” (*Lond.*) Art. v.

Both the Assembly and the Church of England were on this subject greatly indebted to the “*Decretum de Peccato Originali sacrosancti et oecumenici Concilli Tridentini*,” See their “*Canones et Decreta*,” *Rothomagi*, (1781,) p. 10.

being what is called a *Baxterian* ;* and his general conversation had a liberal turn, and such as tended to undermine my prejudices. But what contributed to open my eyes still more, was the conversation of a Mr. Walker, from Ashton-under-Line, who preached as a candidate when our old minister was superannuated. He was an avowed Baxterian, and being rejected on that account, his opinions were much canvased, and he being a guest at the house of my aunt, we soon became very intimate, and I thought I saw much of reason in his sentiments. Thinking farther on these subjects, I was, before I went to the academy, an Arminian; but had by no means rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, or that of Atonement.

(19.) Though, after I saw reason to change my opinions, I found myself incommoded by the rigour of the congregation

* “ Richard Baxter attempted a coalition between the doctrines of Calvin and Arminius.—The compromising doctrine of Baxter may be seen in his very learned and unintelligible work entitled *Catholic Theology*.” T. C.

Dr. Kippis says, that Baxterianism “ strikes into a middle path, between Calvinism and Arminianism, endeavouring, in some degree, though, perhaps, not very consistently, to avoid the errors of each.” *Biog. Brit.* II. 22

Thus, in “ A Sermon of Judgment, preached at Paul’s, 1654,” Baxter supposes this “ excuse” to be pleaded by a condemned sinner: “ How could I be saved if Christ did not die for me? He died but for his elect, and none could be saved without his death.” The “ answer” is, “ He did die for you, and for more than his elect; though he absolutely purposed only their salvation.” See M. R., VIII. 245.

Milton appears, in the following language ascribed to “ the Almighty Father,” to be rambling in Baxter’s “ middle path,” though the poet, like the divine, waves a decision of the question, whether any of “ the rest,” distinguished from the “ elect,” shall eventually be saved:

“ Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,
Elect above the rest: so is my will.
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn’d
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
Th’ incens’d Deity, while offer’d grace
Invites: for I will clear their senses dark,
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts,
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.”

P. L., b. iii. 184—188.

In the *Doctrina Christiana*, (p. 48,) Milton says, “ Quod si Deus neminem nisi non obedientem, non credentem rejicit, certe, gratiam etsi non parem, attamen sufficientem, omnibus impertit.” (But if God reject only the disobe-

with which I was connected, I shall always acknowledge with great gratitude that I owe much to it.* The business of religion was effectually attended to in it. We were all catechised in public till we were grown up, servants as well as others : the minister always expounded the Scriptures with as much regularity as he preached;† and there was hardly a day in the week in

dient and unbelieving, he certainly imparts sufficient, though unequal, grace to all.) Again, on *Rom.* ix. 20, 21, “*Causa igitur cur Deus non omnes pari gratia dignetur, est suprema ipsius voluntas; quod sufficienti tamen omnes, est justitia ejus,*” thus rendered by Bishop Sumner: “It is owing, therefore, to his supreme will, that God does not vouchsafe equal grace to all; but it is owing to his justice that there are none to whom he does not vouchsafe grace sufficient for their salvation.” See “*A Treatise of Christian Doctrine,*” (1825,) p. 68.

While we “wait the great teacher, death, and God adore,” assured that “of him, and to him, and through him, are all things,” it is difficult to quote the theological special pleadings of Baxter and Milton, without recollecting the occupation which the poet has assigned to his metaphysical *Pandæmonians*, during the absence of their chief on his perilous enterprize :

Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high,
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate;
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
And found no end in wand'ring mazes lost.

B. ii. 557—561.

* Mr. Belsham, in his Sermon on the death of Dr. Priestley, did ample justice to this acknowledgment. He was soon called forth, in reply to the animadversions of a learned Calvinist, to shew how well such an acknowledgment might consist, with his friend's and his own opinion, that the creed of the Geneva reformer, as to the lapsed state, the partial recovery, and the final condition of mankind, was ill supported by the concurrent testimony of the Scriptures, on the designed end of the Divine dispensations. Thus Dr. Priestley and his friend, (and they were by no means singular,) who could well distinguish between Calvinism and Calvinists, from no scanty experience of both, pursued the poet's excellent counsel,

Be just to all, be candid where you can,
But vindicate the ways of God to man.

See “*Universal Theological Magazine,*” IV. 26.

† See 157. In “*A Discourse at Hackney, 1791,*” I well remember to have heard the preacher refer to this practice of his early “minister,” as, in connexion with catechising, “the only method of making intelligent Christians.” See also the “*preface to Sermons, 1787,*” *ad fin*, and “*Essay on Church Discipline,*” S. v., W. XV. 6, 471; XXI. 411—416.

Dr. Priestley generally expounded at Birmingham and Hackney; and I

which there was not some meeting of one or other part of the congregation. On one evening there was a meeting of the young men for conversation and prayer. This I constantly attended, praying extempore with others, when called upon.

(20.) At my aunt's there was a monthly meeting of women, who acquitted themselves in prayer as well as any of the men belonging to the congregation. Being at first a child in the family, I was permitted to attend their meetings, and growing up insensibly, heard them, after I was capable of judging. My aunt, after the death of her husband,* prayed every morning and evening in her family, until I was about seventeen, when that duty devolved upon me.

(21.) The Lord's-day was kept with peculiar strictness. No victuals were dressed on that day in any family. No member of it was permitted to walk out for recreation,† but the whole of the day was spent at the public meeting, or at home in reading, meditation, and prayer, in the family or the closet.‡

have a grateful recollection of the interesting and instructive manner in which Mr. Belsham, his immediate successor in the latter place, pursued that too generally neglected method of scriptural instruction. See W. XX. 305, *note*.

* "About three years after Joseph was taken into the family." *F. Sermon*, p. 36.

† Thus, in a "code of laws made in Newhaven," in 1637, (as quoted in *Mon. Rev.* LXVI. 256,) are the following enactments, under severe penalties: "No one shall run on the sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently, to and from meeting. No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave on the sabbath day."

These legislators appear to have forgotten who had said, even of the Jewish weekly rest, though divinely sanctioned, "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath." Nor had they duly regarded the solemn comprehensive declaration, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," as may appear from the following accompanying enactments:

"No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic. If any person turn Quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return, upon pain of death." M. R., II. 480, 481.

‡ "On the observance of the Lord's-day," Dr. Priestley says, in the conclusion of his "Remarks on Mr. Evanson's Letter," (1792,) "Social and cheerful entertainments, such as are not improper on other days, are by no means inconsistent with the acts of religion required of the Jews on the sabbath, or of Christians on the Lord's-day." W. XX. 351. On the sabbatical observance of Sunday by Christians, see M. R. XIV. 424, 488, 553.

(22.) It was my custom at that time to recollect as much as I could of the sermons I heard, and to commit it to writing. This practice I began very early, and continued it until I was able from the heads of a discourse to supply the rest myself. For, not troubling myself to commit to memory much of the amplification, and writing at home almost as much as I had heard, I insensibly acquired a habit of composing with great readiness; and from this practice I believe I have derived great advantage through life; composition seldom employing so much time as would be necessary to write in long hand any thing I have published.*

(23.) By these means, not being disgusted with these strict forms of religion, as many persons of better health and spirits probably might have been, (and on which account I am far from recommending the same strictness to others,) I acquired in early life a serious turn of mind. Among other things, I had at this

* This habit of rapid, though perspicuous composition, in which are generally discovered "proper words in proper places," the excellence of style, according to Swift's concise definition, was invaluable to a multifarious writer. Yet it would preclude the application of that *limæ labor* requisite to the lesser attainments of elegance and ornament. "The works of Dr. Priestley" have been justly described in a short notice of this edition :

"Time has now set on them its sacred seal. Their style could never be commended for any thing but its lucid clearness. It is often wordy and diffuse, occasionally incorrect, and seldom elegant or graceful. But the Author had higher desires than that of building up to himself a fame on tuneful periods or sparkling fantasies. He felt so intensely the infinite value of truth, that he thought not of those ornaments by which, to minds of a different constitution, she might be rendered alluring. The great charms of his writings, next to the force of their arguments, are the intense earnestness with which every important doctrine is urged, and every lesson of wisdom impressed on the reader, and the plain-heartedness and unaffected feeling which glow even through his most profound and abstracted reasonings." M. R. XIV. 321.

Dr. Priestley "never professed to be a fine writer. He never sought after the beauties of style; and his common language was sufficiently neat and expressive to communicate the facts and the arguments upon which it was employed." T. C. *Mem.* 8vo. p. 283.

Mr John Lee, (see 113,) in 1793, thanking Mr. Lindsey, for "a book of Paley's," adds, "I see no fault in it, but that he has not attained the ease and simplicity with which Dr. Priestley can express himself when that is his object, to make every body, young and old, to comprehend him." *Orig.* MS.

time a great aversion to plays and romances, so that I never read any works of this kind, except Robinson Crusoe, until I went to the academy. I well remember seeing my brother Timothy reading a book of knight-errantry, and with great indignation I snatched it out of his hands, and threw it away. This brother, afterwards, when he had for some time followed my father's business, (which was that of a cloth-dresser,) became, if possible, more serious than I had been; and, after an imperfect education, took up the profession of a minister among the Independents, in which he now continues.*

(24.) While I was at the grammar school, I learned "Mr. Annet's short-hand," and thinking I could suggest some improvements in it, I wrote to the author,† and this was the beginning of a correspondence which lasted several years. He was, as I ever perceived, an unbeliever in Christianity,‡ and a Necessarian. On this subject, several letters, written with care on both sides, passed between us, and these Mr. Annet often pressed me to give him leave to publish, but I constantly refused. I had undertaken the defence of philosophical liberty, and the correspondence was closed without my being convinced of the fallacy of my arguments,§ though upon studying the subject regularly, in the course of my academical education afterwards, I became a confirmed Necessarian, and I have through life derived, as I imagine, the greatest advantage from my full persuasion of the truth of that doctrine.

* The Rev. Timothy Priestley, from whose Funeral Sermon for his brother I have quoted several particulars of Dr. Priestley's family, and of his very early history, died in 1814.

† Among commendatory verses addressed "to Mr. Annet on his new Short Hand," I have read one copy, signed, "J. Priestley," probably his only versification in print. (See 78.) These rhymes of a school-boy, grateful to his instructor in a highly useful art, will scarcely excite any regret that their author quitted "the idle trade" to pursue, with so much assiduity and success, his higher vocations.

‡ On "Peter Annet," and his persecution by State-Christians, see "Essay on Government," S. x. *ad fin.*, W. XXII. 135, 136.

§ See the conclusion of the preface to "The Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity," W. III. 458.

CHAPTER II.

(1752—1755.)

DR. CALAMY, in his *Continuation of Baxter*, and, after him, Dr. Toulmin, in his “*Historical View, from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen Anne*,” have related how the Nonconformists endeavoured to provide for a continuance of that academical education of which the rigorous Act of Uniformity, in 1662, had deprived them. They might, indeed, have temporized, anticipating the apologies of a Powell or a Paley; but they could not resolve to make shipwreck of consistency; or, in the expressive words of Milton, to “subscribe slave.” Dr. Toulmin has thus recorded the vexations inflicted on their conscientious integrity :

Seminaries, which, but for a malignant policy, would never have existed, were opened in various parts of the kingdom. These were viewed with fear and jealousy; yet recourse was not had to remedial measures of a mild and liberal nature. Several aspersions were cast on those who taught university learning; the calm retreat of the student was haunted by the spectre of intolerance; and harassing processes in the spiritual court were commenced against those who presided over theological seminaries.*

The latest attempt of which I am aware, and probably the last to be endured in England, thus to harass a Non-

* *Hist. View*, pp. 217, 218.

conformist instructor, occurred in 1732, in the case of Doddridge, who was cited into "the Spiritual Court" for having presided, however respectably, over his seminary at Northampton, without the licence of Episcopal authority. But Doddridge was an able, zealous, and influential partizan of a new and not yet universally acknowledged dynasty. The "prerogative royal" promptly interfered; and "the judges," seldom uncourtly, immediately "ordered a prohibition to be issued."* Thus, when Joseph Priestley, now at the age of nineteen, had determined to pursue an academical education for the Christian ministry, he was free to choose a tutor among the Nonconformists; and he proceeds to describe the difficulties he encountered in effecting his purpose, which interfered, on a question of no small importance, with the kindly-intended resolutions of his family:

(25.) My aunt, and all my relations, being strict Calvinists, it was their intention to send me to the academy at Mile-end, then under the care of Dr. Conder.† But, being at that time an Arminian, I resolutely opposed it, especially upon finding that if I went thither, besides giving an *experience*, I must subscribe my assent to ten printed articles of the strictest Calvinistic faith,‡ and repeat it every six months. My opposition,

* See *Biog. Brit.* V. 306; "Correspondence of Doddridge," III. 108, 139.

† Who died in 1781, "after having filled the divinity tutor's chair with reputation and usefulness for nearly twenty-seven years." He was appointed in 1754, on the settlement of the academy at Mile-End, whence it was removed to Homerton. See "Address to the Friends and Supporters of the [King's Head] Society," (1819,) pp. 18, 22.

When Joseph Priestley's relations would have sent him to this academy, it was stationed at Plaisterers' Hall, London, and the principal tutor was Dr. Zephaniah Marryatt. *Ibid.* p. 15.

‡ Reprinted in 1805, when, in *Art. X.* on the resurrection, for "the same numerical bodies," as directed to be subscribed, in the youth of Priestley, was substituted "the same bodies." See *M. R.* VI. 219—221. South had described the resurrection as the "reparation of the same numerical body, by a reunion of all its scattered parts," for this horrible purpose, that

however, would probably have been to no purpose, and I must have adopted some other mode of life, if Mr. Kirkby (above-mentioned)* had not interposed, and strongly recommended the academy of Dr. Doddridge, on the idea that I should have a better chance of being made a scholar. He had received a good education himself, was a good classical scholar, and had no opinion of the mode of education among the very orthodox Dissenters, and being fond of me, he was desirous of my having every advantage that could be procured for me. My good aunt, not being a bigoted Calvinist, entered into his views, and Dr. Doddridge being dead,† I was sent to Daventry, and was the first pupil that entered there.‡ My step-mother also, who was a woman of good sense, as well as of religion, had a high opinion of Dr. Doddridge, having been some time house-keeper in his family. She had always recommended his academy, but died before I went thither.

(26.) Three years, viz. from September 1752, to 1755, I spent at Daventry, with that peculiar satisfaction with which young persons of generous minds usually go through a course

Divine Justice may “prey upon the sinner for ever, satisfying itself by a perpetual miracle, rendering the creature immortal in the midst of the flames, always consuming, but never consumed.”

This notion of exact “numerical reparation,” Young has amplified in his *Last Day*, in lines hardly escaping the character of ludicrous :

Now charnels rattle; scatter'd limbs, and all
The various bones, obsequious to the call,
Self-mov'd advance; the neck, perhaps, to meet
The distant head, the distant legs the feet.
Dreadful to view! See, through the dusky sky,
Fragments of bodies in confusion fly,
To distant regions journeying, there to claim
Deserted members, and complete the frame.

See *Ibid.* IX. 104, 105.

Subscription to “the Homerton Articles,” which Dr. Winter described, in 1811, as “of ancient date,” has for several years been abolished, chiefly in consequence of the objections urged by Dr. W. and other learned Calvinists. See *Ibid.* VI. 238.

* *Supra*, pp. 7, 8.

† In 1751, at Lisbon, aged 49.

‡ The fourth in Mr. Belsham's list, communicated 1822. M. R. XVII. 163.

of liberal study, in the society of others engaged in the same pursuits, and free from the cares and anxieties which seldom fail to lay hold on them when they come out into the world.

(27.) In my time, the academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance, such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul,* and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which, all these topics were the subject of continual discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark,† the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty.

(28.) Both of our tutors being young, at least as tutors, and some of the senior students excelling more than they could pretend to do in several branches of study, they indulged us in the greatest freedoms, so that our lectures had often the air of friendly conversations on the subjects to which they related. We were permitted to ask whatever questions, and to make whatever remarks we pleased; and we did it with the greatest, but without any offensive, freedom.‡ The general plan of our studies, which may be seen in Dr. Doddridge's published lectures,§ was exceedingly favourable to free inquiry, as we were

* See W. III. 201. This was ably maintained by Dr. Law, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, in his Appendix to the Third Edition of his "Considerations on the Theory of Religion, 1755." See Blackburne's "Historical View," (1772,) p. 200.

"Dr. Law completely proved to the Christian world that, though life and immortality were brought to light by the Christian dispensation, the common theory of a separate immaterial and immortal soul was not necessary to, or countenanced by, the Christian doctrine." T. C. *Mem.* 8vo. p. 312.

† See *Biog. Brit.* V. 299, 300; "Brief Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Clark," M. R. I. 617—621.

‡ For a satisfactory examination of the Rev. R. Hall's strictures on this passage, and on the method of theological education at Daventry, in his "Memoirs of the Rev. T. N. Toller," see *ibid.* XIX. 229—235.

§ "A Course of Lectures on the principal subjects of Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity," edited by "Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor," and first published in 1763. See *Biog. Brit.* V. 301; M. R. XIX. 231, 232.

A third edition of the Lectures was published in 1794, by Dr. Kippis, with a large number of additional references, especially from the papers of

referred to authors on both sides of every question, and were even required to give an account of them. It was also expected that we should abridge the most important of them for our future use. The public library contained all the books to which we were referred.

(29.) It was a reference to “Dr. Hartley’s Observations on Man,”* in the course of our Lectures, that first brought me acquainted with that performance, which immediately engaged my closest attention, and produced the greatest, and in my opinion the most favourable effect on my general turn of thinking through life. It established me in the belief of the doctrine of Necessity, which I first learned from Collins;† it greatly improved that disposition to piety which I brought to the academy, and freed it from the rigour with which it had been tinctured. Indeed, I do not know whether the consideration of Dr. Hartley’s theory contributes more to enlighten the mind, or improve the heart; it affects both in so super-eminent a degree.

(30.) In this situation, I saw reason to embrace what is

his “late friend the Rev. Samuel Merivale, theological tutor at Exeter.” This edition was reprinted in 1822.

* First published in 1749. Dr. Hartley, in 1746, had annexed to his treatise *De Lithonriptico*, an appendix, entitled *Conjecturæ quædam de Sensu, Motu, et Idearum Generatione*, comprising his first twenty-two propositions. See W. XV. 423; M. R. XIII. 500. See, also, an anecdote of Dr. H.’s correspondence, in preparation for his great work, which I heard from Dr. P., while he resided in Clapton, *ibid.* V. 170.

Dr. Priestley, in his “Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever,” (W. IV. 354,) refers to his “correspondence” with Dr. Hartley. This “commenced a short time before his death,” in 1757. See Hartley’s Life prefixed to his “Observations,” p. x.

† Whose “Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty” first appeared in 1715. This was republished in 1790 by Dr. Priestley, and is comprehended in his Works. See W. IV. 255—310, where, in the first paragraph of note ‡, p. 260, is a charge against Bentley, which I have since discovered, and acknowledged, to have been unfounded. See M. R. XIII. 745.

“Collins’s Inquiry was the only book on the subject worth reading between the times of Hobbes and Hartley. To this treatise, plainly and popularly written, no sufficient answer was or could be given. It must have satisfied the mind of every reader, capable of understanding the question, though it omitted to answer many objections, which were afterwards taken up and fully answered by Dr. Priestley.” T. C. *Mem.* 8vo. pp. 322, 323.

generally called the heterodox side of almost every question.* But notwithstanding this, and though Dr. Ashworth was earnestly desirous to make me as orthodox as possible, yet, as my behaviour was unexceptionable, and as I generally took his part in some little things by which he often drew upon himself the ill-will of many of the students, I was upon the whole a favourite with him. I kept up more or less of a correspondence with Dr. Ashworth till the time of his death, though much more so with Mr. Clark. This continued till the very week of his melancholy death, by a fall from his horse,† at Birmingham, where he was minister.

(31.) Notwithstanding the great freedom of our speculations and debates, the extreme of heresy among us was Arianism; and all of us, I believe, left the academy with a belief, more or less qualified, of the doctrine of *atonement*.

(32.) Warm friendships never fail to be contracted at places of liberal education; and when they are well chosen, are of singular use: such was mine with Mr. Alexander, of Birmingham.‡ We were in the same class, and during the first year occupied the same room. By engagements between ourselves we rose early, and dispatched many articles of business every day. One of them, which continued all the time we were at

* "It will be seen in the course of these Memoirs, that from time to time, as deeper reflection and more extensive reading incited him, he saw reason to give up almost all the peculiar theological and metaphysical opinions which he had imbibed in early youth; some of them with considerable difficulty, and all of them at the evident risk of considerable obloquy from those whom he highly respected, as well as from those on whom his interest appeared to depend." T. C. *Mem.* 8vo. p. 19.

† Dec. 6, 1769. See M. R. I. 621. In a letter to Mr. Lindsey, "Feb. 17, 1771," on the conduct of the Theological Repository, Dr. Priestley mentions his "deceased friend, Mr. Clark, of Birmingham, who," he adds, "gave me his name at the beginning of that scheme." *Orig.* MS.

‡ Where he died in 1765. "On Saturday, Dec. 28th, he retired to rest in perfect health, intending to officiate at Longdon the next day, but in the morning he was found dead in his bed." There was annexed to his Paraphrase on 1 Corinthians, Chap. xv., &c., published in 1766, "A sermon on Ecclesiastes ix. 10, composed by the author the day preceding his death," for the purpose of the morrow.

In a "Preliminary Dissertation" to his Paraphrase, Mr. Alexander "favours the opinion of there being no state of consciousness between death and the resurrection." Dr. Kippis in *Biog. Brit.* II. 207. See M. R. XI. 193, 673; XVII. 163, 172, 173.

the academy, was to read every day ten folio pages in some Greek author, and generally a Greek play in the course of the week besides. By this means we became very well acquainted with that language, and with the most valuable authors in it. This exercise we continued long after we left the academy, communicating to each other by letter an account of what we read. My life becoming more occupied than his, he continued his application to Greek longer than I did, so that before his death he was, I imagine, one of the best Greek scholars in this or any other country. My attention was always more drawn to mathematical and philosophical studies than his was.

(33.) These voluntary engagements were the more necessary in the course of our academical studies, as there was then no provision made for teaching the learned languages. We had even no compositions or orations in Latin. Our course of lectures was also defective in containing no lectures on the Scriptures, or on ecclesiastical history, and by the students in general (and Mr. Alexander and myself were no exceptions) commentators in general and ecclesiastical history also were held in contempt. On leaving the academy, he went to study under his uncle, Dr. Benson,* and with him learned to value the critical study of the Scriptures so much, that at length he almost confined his attention to them.†

(34.) My other particular friends among my fellow-students, were Mr. Henry Holland,‡ of my own class, Messrs. Whitehead,§ Smithson,|| Rotherham,¶ and Scholefield,** in that

* See *infra*, p. 32, note *.

† Under the impression of these recollections, Dr. P. writes to Mr. Lindsay in the letter just quoted, "I most exceedingly regret my friend Alexander. He would have been to me instead of a legion."

‡ Minister at "Prescot" and "Ormskirk." According to Mr. Belsham, the first student who "entered under Dr. Ashworth." M. R. XVII. 163.

§ "Settled at Box Lane, near Berkhamstead, Herts." He is described as "a judicious and useful preacher," pursuing "the ancient practice of exposition." *Ibid.* V. 477. See *supra*, p. 16. || See 44.

¶ Caleb, son of Dr. Rotherham, tutor of an academy at Kendal, on whose decease, in 1754, he removed to Daventry, whence he was invited by his father's congregation, "whose highly respected minister he continued till his death, about 1795." See M. R. V. 219—221, 474.

To Mr. Rotherham's son I have been indebted for a valuable collection of Dr. Priestley's letters to his father.

** Radcliffe Scholefield, after settling at Whitehaven, removed to Bir-

above me; and Mr. Tayler* in that below me. With all these I kept up more or less of a correspondence, and our friendship was terminated only by the death of those who are now dead,† viz. the three first named of these six, and I hope it will subsist to the same period with those who now survive.

(35.) All the while I was at the academy, I never lost sight of the great object of my studies, which was the duties of a Christian minister, and there it was that I laid the general plan which I have executed since. Particularly, I there composed the first copy of my “Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion,”‡ Mr. Clark, to whom I communicated my scheme, carefully perusing every section of it, and talking over the subject of it with me.

(36.) But I was much discouraged even then with the impediment in my speech,§ which I inherited from my family,

mingham, where he continued for many years, till his decease in 1803, minister at the old meeting-house. M. R. IX. 566. See *M. Mag.* 1803.

* Rev. Thomas Tayler became assistant-tutor at Daventry; afterwards, for many years, chaplain to Mrs Abney at Stoke Newington, and preacher at Carter Lane, London. M. R. XVII. 163. This gentleman is living, at a very advanced age.

† In 1787. See *supra*, p. 2, note.

‡ Mr. Joseph Priestley, describing his father’s “mode of regulating his studies,” says, “the greater part of his diaries were destroyed in the Riots at Birmingham, but there are still extant those for 1754, 1755, and several of the subsequent years.” From “the end of the diary for 1755” he copies the “business done at different periods of the year.”

I find “in Jan. Feb. and March,” under the head of *Composition*, “a sermon on the Wisdom of God, an oration on the Means of Virtue, first volume of the Institutes.” This was not published till 1772. Under the same head, “from April 1, to June 23,” appears, besides “an article on Edwards’s Translation of the Psalms, for the Review,” the “second volume of the Institutes.” This was published in 1773. See W. II. p. vii.; *Continuation of the Memoirs*,” 8vo. pp. 177—180; 12mo. pp. 159—162.

To this short “article on Edwards,” I have referred in the *Monthly Review* for 1755 (XII. 485—489). It is almost entirely occupied with a description of the Author’s design, and a specimen of his translation, and concludes with the following remarks by the reviewer:

“It is certain from the particular formation of the Hebrew language that it naturally runs into trochaics and iambics. From this mechanical cause the whole book of Genesis, and the chapters of proper names in the Chronicles, are as much metrical as the song of Moses, or any part of the Book of Psalms.”

§ See 44, 91.

and which still attends me. Sometimes I absolutely stammered,* and my anxiety about it was the cause of much distress to me. However, like St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh," I hope it has not been without its use. Without some such check as this, I might have been disputatious in company, or might have been seduced by the love of popular applause as a preacher; whereas my conversation and my delivery in the pulpit having nothing in them that was generally striking, I hope I have been more attentive to qualifications of a superior kind.

(37.) It is not, I believe, usual for young persons in Dissenting academies to think much of their future situations in life. Indeed, we are happily precluded from that, by the impossibility of succeeding in any application for particular places. We often, indeed, amused ourselves with the idea of our dispersion in all parts of the kingdom, after living so happily together; and used to propose plans of meeting at certain times, and smile at the different appearance we should probably make after being ten or twenty years settled in the world. But nothing of this kind was ever seriously resolved upon by us. For my own part, I can truly say I had very little ambition, except to distinguish myself by my application to the studies proper to my profession; and I cheerfully listened to the first proposal that my tutor made to me, in consequence of an application made to him to provide a minister for the people of Needham Market, in Suffolk, though it was very remote from my friends in Yorkshire, and a very inconsiderable place.

* To this "impediment" Dr. Priestley refers in "Lectures on Oratory and Criticism" (xxxv) W. XXIII. 480.

CHAPTER III.

(1755—1761.)

I HAD expected that the obliging inquiries of intimate friends in the vicinity of Needham Market would have enabled me here to connect the Memoir of Joseph Priestley with some further notices of his residence in that place. Yet, though the venerable chapel remains, apparently, as in the days of his ministry, a lapse of more than seventy years has obliterated all traces of the youthful preacher's habits and intercourse, except what he has himself unaffectedly recorded, and a few passages which I shall presently quote, in the just defence and illustration of his character. I now resume his Memoir.

(38.) When I went to preach at Needham as a candidate, I found a small congregation, about an hundred people, under a Mr. Meadows, who was superannuated. They had been without a minister, the preceding year, on account of the smallness of the salary; but there being some respectable and agreeable families among them, I flattered myself that I should be useful and happy in the place, and therefore accepted the unanimous invitation to be assistant to Mr. Meadows, with a view to succeed him when he died. He was a man of some fortune.

(39.) This congregation had been used to receive assistance from both the Presbyterian and Independent funds; but upon my telling them that I did not choose to have any thing to do with the Independents, and asking them whether they were able to make up the salary they promised me, (which was

forty pounds per annum,) without any aid from the latter fund, they assured me they could. I soon, however, found that they deceived themselves; for the most that I ever received from them was in the proportion of about thirty pounds per annum, when the expense of my board exceeded twenty pounds.*

(40.) Notwithstanding this, every thing else for the first half year appeared very promising, and I was happy in the success of my schemes for promoting the interest of religion in the place. I catechised the children, though there were not many, using Dr. Watt's Catechism;† and I opened my lectures on the theory of religion from the "Institutes," which I had composed at the academy, admitting all persons to attend them, without distinction of sex or age; but in this I soon found that I had acted imprudently. A minister in that neighbourhood had been obliged to leave his place on account of Arianism; and though nothing had been said to me on the subject, and from the people so readily consenting to give up the Independent fund, I thought they could not have much bigotry among them, I found that when I came to treat of the *Unity of God*, merely as an article of religion, several of my audience were attentive to nothing but the soundness of my faith in the doctrine of the Trinity.

(41.) Also, though I had made it a rule to myself to introduce nothing that could lead to controversy into the pulpit;‡ yet making no secret of my real opinions in conversation, it was soon found that I was an Arian.§ From the time of this

* Doddridge, in 1723, when removing to Kibworth, his first settlement, writes, "The salary cannot possibly amount to above £35 a-year; but I think I may board for about £10 a-year." See his "Correspondence," I. 219.

† See *supra*, p. 6, note; W. XXI. 572, note.

‡ See "Second Letter to Dr. Linn," *ad fin.*, W. XXI. 245.

§ The Rev. T. Priestley, besides a strange tale respecting the Rev. Dr. Aikin, of Warrington, which was promptly refuted by his family, ventured to represent his brother as having said to him, respecting his conduct at Needham Market, "I did all I could: I so far hid my cloven foot, that I taught the Assembly's Catechism; but they found me out." Understanding, several years since, that an intelligent friend was able, on good authority, to expose the utter improbability of this story, I wrote to him, and was immediately favoured with the following reply:

discovery my hearers fell off apace, especially as the old minister took a decided part against me. The principal

“DEAR SIR,

“*Sandon, Jan. 6, 1805.*

“MY reasons for being persuaded that the Rev. T. Priestley must be under a mistake, in an assertion which he makes at p. 37 of the Funeral Sermon for his brother, are the following:

“I was, as you well know, formerly a Dissenting minister. Being in 1783 settled at Stow Market, only three miles from Needham Market, where the late Dr. Priestley had been settled as minister in the early part of his life, I frequently attempted to gain information respecting so distinguished a character, though with but little success. I however recollect Mr. Spink, a gentleman of my congregation, informing me that he attended upon Mr. Priestley’s ministry, and though very young himself, he well remembered that the freedom with which he delivered his opinions occasioned a general dissatisfaction; but his opponents could not but commend him, for the easy access all persons had who came to controvert them, and the calm patience with which he heard them.

“Also, being on a visit to the Rev. Mr. Toms, of Hadleigh, (who died Jan. 2, 1801, aged 91,) a most patriarchal and venerable minister of the gospel, himself a moderate Calvinist, at the time when Dr. Priestley’s ‘History of the Corruptions of Christianity’ came out in 1782, I expressed my disapprobation of that work in pretty strong terms. The old gentleman replied—‘My young friend, Dr. Priestley’s sentiments are not mine. I hope they will never be yours; and I am sorry they are his; but from my acquaintance with him when at Needham Market, I shall always respect him for the openness and honesty of his character;’ adding, ‘My first introduction to him was occasioned by my being requested to preach a funeral sermon for one of his congregation; and when in the vestry he said, ‘Mr. Toms, you are perfectly at liberty to attack any of my opinions which you deem erroneous, and I hope you will not be offended at my taking the same liberty with you, as I certainly intend doing, should I think there is any occasion.’

“Having stated these conversations as accurately as I am able, after the lapse of more than twenty years, I leave it to your consideration whether they do not invalidate the statement of the Rev. T. Priestley in the paragraph to which you refer.

“Though unconnected with the former part of my letter, I will mention an anecdote which I had from my friend Mr. Norman, of Stow Market. Mr. Tailor, while the Dissenting minister of that place, introduced Dr. Priestley to Needham Market. Mr. N. often heard Mr. T. predict the future eminence of his friend, not merely from his great application, but from the most undeviating adherence to plan in every thing he did. So exact was he in the division of his time, that he accustomed himself to study with a watch on the table; and however interesting the subject engaged in might be, he never suffered one branch of literature to encroach upon the period allotted for another.—“I remain, dear Sir, yours,

“ELIAS FORDHAM.”—M. R. II. 633.

families, however, still continued with me; but notwithstanding this, my salary fell far short of thirty pounds per annum; and if it had not been for Dr. Benson* and Dr. Kippis,† especially the former, procuring me now and then an extraordinary five pounds from different charities, I do not believe that I could have subsisted. I shall always remember their kindness to me, at a time when I stood in so much need of it.

(42.) When I was in this situation, a neighbouring minister, whose intimate friend had conformed to the Church of England, talked to me on that subject. He himself, I perceived, had no great objection to it; but rejecting the proposal, as a thing that I could not think of, he never mentioned it to me any more.

(43.) To these difficulties, arising from the sentiments of my congregation,‡ was added that of the failure of all remittances from my aunt, owing in part to the ill offices of my orthodox

Dr. Priestley's "habit of dividing his time" is remarked by Mr. Cooper. *Mem.* 8vo. p. 279.

It is probable, from the information of "Mr. Spink," that the young preacher had not uniformly, (as was indeed scarcely possible,) regarded his "rule," often more justly treated in the breach than in the observance; for what is "controversy," judiciously brought "into the pulpit," but the advocacy of neglected or misrepresented scriptural truth against the influence of prevailing antichristian error?

While correcting the Rev. T. Priestley's *erroneous reminiscences*, I recollect how Toplady, another, though a more learned "fierce polemic," expresses himself on this subject. "I love a man whom I can hold up as a piece of crystal, and look through him. For this I have always admired Dr. Priestley." *M. R.* II. 67.

* Who died in 1762, aged 62 *Biog. Brit.* II. 206. Dr. Benson, deservedly respected as a learned and pious scriptural critic, was the intimate friend of Lardner, who, for some time, had been his colleague. See Dr. Kippis's *Life of Lardner*, pp. xii. xiii.; *Biog. Brit.* II. 203, note H.

† This unassuming, industrious scholar and divine, and very amiable man, of whose acquaintance I enjoyed for a few years the pleasure and advantage, and who is so well known by his numerous valuable writings, died in 1795, aged 70. See *Prot. Diss. Mag.* III. 1—6.

‡ As to their elder minister, on Mr. T. Scott's (see 57) ordination at Ipswich in 1737, he had "insisted upon a previous examination in the usual form." On a refusal by Mr. Scott, Mr. Meadows declined his attendance. *M. R.* V. 532, 533.

relations, but chiefly to her being exhausted by her liberality to others, and thinking that when I was settled in the world, I ought to be no longer burthensome to her. Together with me, she had brought up a niece, who was almost her only companion, and being deformed, could not have subsisted without the greatest part, at least, of all she had to bequeath. In consequence of these circumstances, though my aunt had always assured me that, if I chose to be a minister, she would leave me independent of the profession, I was satisfied she was not able to perform her promise, and freely consented to her leaving all she had to my cousin; I had only a silver tankard as a token of her remembrance. She had spared no expense in my education, and that was doing more for me than giving me an estate.*

(44.) But what contributed greatly to my distress, was the impediment in my speech,† which had increased so much, as to make preaching very painful, and took from me all chance of recommending myself to any better place. In this state, hearing of the proposal of one Mr. Angier, to cure all defects of speech, I prevailed upon my aunt to enable me to pay his price, which was twenty guineas; and this was the first occasion of my visiting London. Accordingly, I attended him about a month, taking an oath not to reveal his method, and I received some temporary benefit; but soon relapsed again, and spoke worse than ever. When I went to London, it was in company with Mr. Smithson,‡ who was settled at Harleston, in Norfolk.§ By him I was introduced to Dr. Kippis, and

* “He knew how to bear poverty without murmuring, and disappointment without fretfulness. He justified the will of his aunt, which deprived him of expectations which she had excited.” M. R. XVII. 169. Such are the remarks on this passage, by the late Mr. Anthony Robinson, in a paper of which I shall in the sequel more largely avail myself.

Writing to Mr. Lindsey, “April 15, 1803,” a few months before his decease, Dr. Priestley recollects his “good aunt” among his “chief friends and benefactors.” *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 7.

† See 91, and *supra*, pp. 27, 28.

‡ See *supra*, p. 26.

§ In 1755. Thence in 1758 he “removed to Nottingham,” where he died “of a consumption, 1769, greatly beloved by the society. He was much of a gentleman in his appearance and manners. His style of preaching

Dr. Benson,* and by the latter to Dr. Price, but not at that time.†

(45.) At Needham I felt the effect of a low despised situation, together with that arising from the want of popular talents.‡ There were several vacancies in congregations in that neighbourhood, where my sentiments would have been no objection to me, but I was never thought of. Even my next neighbour, whose sentiments were as free as my own, and known to be so, declined making exchanges with me, which, when I left that part of the country, he acknowledged was not owing to any dislike his people had to me as heretical, but for other reasons, the more genteel part of his hearers always absenting themselves when they heard I was to preach for him. But visiting that country some years afterwards, when I had raised myself to some degree of notice in the world, and being invited to preach in that very pulpit, the same people crowded to hear me, though my elocution was not much improved, and they professed to admire one of the same discourses they had formerly despised.

(46.) Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, I was far from being unhappy at Needham. I was boarded in a family from which I received much satisfaction; I firmly believed that a wise Providence was disposing every thing for the best, and I applied with great assiduity to my studies, which were classical, mathematical, and theological. These required but few books. As to experimental philosophy, I had always cultivated an acquaintance with it,§ but I had not the means of prosecuting it.

(47.) With respect to miscellaneous reading, I was pretty

was sensible and correct, mild and persuasive; and he was particularly distinguished for the variety and excellence of his devotional compositions. He ordered all his manuscripts to be burnt, an order which was faithfully, but reluctantly, complied with." M. R., V. 474.

* See *supra*, p. 32.

† See 80.

‡ See *supra*, p. 28.

§ The Rev. T. Priestley says, "Joseph began to discover a taste for experiments when about eleven years old. The first he made was on spiders; and by putting them into bottles, he found how long they could live without fresh air.

well supplied by means of a library belonging to Mr. S. Alexander, a Quaker, to which I had the freest access. Here it was that I was first acquainted with any person of that persuasion; and I must acknowledge my obligation to many of them in every future stage of my life. I have met with the noblest instances of liberality of sentiment,* and the truest generosity, among them.

(48.) My studies, however, were chiefly theological. Having left the academy, as I have observed,† with a qualified belief of the doctrine of *atonement*, such as is found in Mr. Tomkin's book, entitled "Jesus Christ the Mediator,"‡ I was desirous of getting some more definite ideas on the subject, and with

"When he began to learn astronomy, he used to be frequently in the fields with his pen and papers: this spread his fame, as it was a science at that time very little known.

"Whenever he discovered any new experiment, his pleasure cannot be well described. Once, in an attempt to melt metal, when he saw it fuse, he exclaimed, 'Oh, had Sir Isaac Newton seen such an experiment!'" *P. Sermon.*

* "This is certainly no part of their character as a sect. Thomas Letchworth, one of the most acute and ingenious of their preachers, who, from the writings of Dr. Priestley, had become a firm convert to his Unitarian opinions, informed me, that the expression of those opinions would be attended with certain expulsion from the society. Very lately, Hannah Barnard, a female Friend, who went from America to England, was prohibited from preaching by the society, on account of her Unitarian doctrines." *T. C. Mem.* 8vo, pp. 29, 30. See "A Narrative of the Proceedings in America of the Society called Quakers, in the case of Hannah Barnard; with a brief Review of the previous Transactions in Great Britain and Ireland." 1804, *passim*.

To Hannah Barnard, who died at Hudson, N. Y., in 1825, aged 71, (see *M. R.* XXI. pp. 54, 525,) may be added my friend Mr. Thomas Foster, justly respected by the Quakers, yet disowned, on no pretence whatever, but because he had professed and promulgated Unitarian opinions. See his "Narrative, Appeal, and Sequel," noticed, *W. X.* 421, *note* *.

† *Supra*, p. 25.

‡ "Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and Men; an Advocate for us with the Father, and a Propitiation for the Sins of the World. Lond. 1732." See the quotation, *W. VII.* 236.

This treatise was soon generally attributed to Mr. Tomkins, though anonymous, like his "Sober Appeal to a Turk or an Indian," first published in 1722, and of which there was a second edition in 1748. In that Appeal, which his friend Dr. Watts had invited, in his "Christian Doctrine of the Trinity," (see *M. R.* VIII. 770,) the author deduces, from a large collection

that view set myself to peruse the whole of the "Old and New Testament," and to collect from them all the texts that appeared to me to have any relation to the subject. This I therefore did with the greatest care, arranging them under a great variety of heads.* At the same time I did not fail to note such *general considerations* as occurred to me while I was thus employed. The consequence of this was, what I had no apprehension of when I began the work, viz. a full persuasion that the doctrine of atonement, even in its most qualified sense, had no countenance either from scripture or reason. Satisfied of this, I proceeded to digest my observations into a regular treatise, which a friend of mine, without mentioning my name, submitted to the perusal of Dr. Fleming† and Dr. Lardner.

of scriptural testimonies, the proper Unitarian doctrine, though maintaining the pre-existence of Christ. In his later treatise he proposes "to examine what the Scriptures declare concerning God's reconciling the world unto himself by Jesus Christ."

From "a collection of several passages of Scripture concerning our redemption by Christ," he considers "the literal sense established, the death of Christ" proved to be "a real sacrifice," and "Christ a proper priest." After explaining "the notion the Scripture gives us of these things," he endeavours to shew them "consistent with the dictates of reason and natural religion."

Mr. Tomkins, in his Appeal, had frequently controverted Dr. Waterland's defences of a Trinity; and having made a quotation (p. 54) from one of his "Queries" on "the Consubstantiality," he adds, "how happy a talent is this, to be able to make fine speeches, and all the while say nothing!" The learned Athanasian divine, on the contrary, little suspecting the same author in the Appeal and the later Treatise, refers to "a rational and judicious discourse, intituled 'Jesus Christ the Mediator,'" to shew how "the truth of the satisfaction, and the necessity there was for it, may be substantially proved from scripture itself, independent of the doctrine of the Trinity;" though, "after proceeding so far, it will be difficult to clear and extricate that scripture doctrine, without admitting this other also." See "The Importance of the Holy Trinity asserted," (1734,) pp. 51, 52.

Mr. Tomkins died in 1755. See Dr. Toulmin's note in "Memoirs of Neal," prefixed to "Hist. of Puritans," (1822,) p. xvii.; also "Some Account of the Rev. Martin Tomkins," M. R. XIV. 653.

* See W. VII. 260, *note* *; Mr. W. Christie, *Mem.* 8vo. p. 488.

† Dr. Caleb Fleming died in 1779, aged 80. "A series of letters to Dr. Fleming by Dr. Lardner, in which he freely disclosed his thoughts concerning men and things," were communicated to Dr. Kippis by Dr. Towers, and probably remain in MS. See *Life of Lardner*, p. xevi.; M. R. III. 487.

In consequence of this, I was urged by them to publish the greater part of what I had written. But being then about to leave Needham, I desired them to do whatever they thought proper with respect to it, and they published about half of my piece, under the title of the "Doctrine of Remission," &c.*

(49.) This circumstance introduced me to the acquaintance of Dr. Lardner, whom I always called upon when I visited London. The last time I saw him, which was little more than a year before his death, having by letter requested him to give me some assistance with respect to the history, I then prepared to write, of the corruptions of Christianity, and especially that article of it, he took down a large bundle of pamphlets, and turning them over, at length shewing me my own, said, "This contains my sentiments on the subject." He had then forgotten that I wrote it, and on my remarking it, he shook his head, and said that his memory began to fail him, and that he had taken me for another person.† He was then at the advanced age of eighty-three. This anecdote is trifling in itself, but it relates to a great and good man.

(50.) I have observed that Dr. Lardner only wished to publish a part of the treatise which my friend put into his hand. The other part of it contained remarks on the reasoning of the apostle Paul, which he could not by any means approve. They were, therefore, omitted in this publication. But the attention

Besides numerous controversial tracts, Dr. Fleming published, in 1758, "A Survey of 'The Search after Souls,'" which he erroneously attributes to Coward, (author of "Second Thoughts concerning Human Souls,") instead of Layton. Dr. F. maintains the soul's immateriality, and asserts, (p. 308,) in opposition to an intermediate state, concluded by a simultaneous resurrection, "the doctrine of an immediate resurrection-body."

Besides Dr. Fleming's *Life* in *Gen. Biog.*, there is a *Memoir* by Rev. L. Holden, in M. R. XIII. 409. It appears that "Dr. Fleming's Memoirs of his own Life" remained in the possession of Dr. Towers's family.

* "The Scripture Doctrine of Remission, which shews that the Death of Christ is no proper Sacrifice, nor Satisfaction for Sin; but that Pardon is dispensed solely on account of Repentance, or a Personal Reformation of the Sinner." 1761. See W. VII. 203, 260, *notes* *, 533.

† "Dr. Harwood. See "Second Letter to Dr. Linn," S. iii. W. XXI. 243.

which I gave to the writings of this apostle at the time that I examined them, in order to collect passages relating to the doctrine of atonement, satisfied me that his reasoning was in many places far from being conclusive; and in a separate work I examined every passage in which his reasoning appeared to me to be defective, or his conclusions ill supported, and I thought them to be pretty numerous.

(51.) At that time I had not read any commentary on the Scriptures, except that of Mr. Henry, when I was young. However, seeing so much reason to be dissatisfied with the Apostle Paul as a reasoner, I read “Dr. Taylor’s Paraphrase on the Romans;”* but it gave me no sort of satisfaction; and his general “Key to the Apostolic Writings,” still less. I therefore at that time wrote some remarks on it, which were a long time after† published in the “Theological Repository.”‡

(52.) As I found that Dr. Lardner did not at all relish any of my observations on the imperfections of the sacred writers, I did not put this treatise into his hands; but I shewed it to some of my younger friends, and also to Dr. Kippis; and he advised me to publish it under the character of an unbeliever, in order to draw the more attention to it. This I did not choose, having always had a great aversion to assume any character that was not my own, even so much as disputing for the sake of discovering truth. I cannot even say that I was quite reconciled to the idea of writing to a fictitious person, as in my “Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever,”§ though nothing can be more innocent, or sometimes more proper, our Saviour’s parables implying a much greater departure from strict truth than those letters do. I therefore wrote the book with great freedom, indeed, but as a Christian, and an admirer of the Apostle Paul, as I always was in other respects.

(53.) When I was at Nantwich,|| I sent this treatise to the press; but when nine sheets were printed off, Dr. Kippis dissuaded me from proceeding, or from publishing any thing of

* Published in 1745.

† In 1784.

‡ W. IV. 57; VII. 464.

§ See 492.

|| See *infra*, p. 42.

the kind, until I should be more known, and my character better established. I therefore desisted ;* but when I opened the “Theological Repository,”† I inserted in that work every thing that was of much consequence in the other,‡ in order to its being submitted to the examination of learned Christians. Accordingly these communications were particularly animadverted upon§ by Mr. Willet, of Newcastle,|| under the signature of W. W. But I cannot say that his remarks gave me much satisfaction.¶

(54.) When I was at Needham, I likewise drew up a treatise on the doctrine of *divine influence*, having collected a number of texts for that purpose, and arranged them under proper heads, as I had done those relating to the doctrine of atonement. But I published nothing relating to it until I made use of some of the observations in my sermon on that subject,

* Dr. Kippis, many years after, expressed to me his lively recollection of this acquiescence in his advice, applauding his friend’s forbearance, from which he had correctly formed the most favourable opinion of his future eminence.

† In 1769. See W. VII. 514.

‡ See *Theol. Repos.* II. 158, 287, 400 ; III. 86, 188 ; W. VII. 365—416.

§ *Theol. Repos.* II. 304, 458.

|| Newcastle-under-Line. He died in 1779, aged 81. The Rev. W. Turner communicated, in 1808, to Dr. Toulmin a short Memoir of “the Rev. William Willetts,” whose “eldest daughter” Mr. Turner had married. The following conclusion describes an estimable character, and is very appropriate to my design of preserving what notices can now be recovered of Joseph Priestley’s early associates :

“Mr. Willetts was a man of a highly cultivated understanding, and gentle polished manners, of great sweetness of disposition, animated with cheerfulness, and even vivacity of spirit ; so that he secured at once the high respect and esteem of older persons, and the cordial attachment and reverence of the young.

“He had great mechanical ingenuity ; and had cultivated with much success several of the branches of natural philosophy, particularly magnetism and optics. He was probably one of the first who inspired with a taste for philosophical investigations the afterwards justly celebrated Dr. Priestley, who, when he resided at Nantwich, frequently came over to spend his leisure hours with Mr. Willetts.

“In the prime of life he was an animated preacher ; and even to the last, his sacramental exercises were particularly impressive.” See “Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bourn, and Biographical Notices of some of his Contemporaries, by Joshua Toulmin, D. D.,” pp. 258—263.

¶ See *Theol. Repos.* II. 411 ; III. 86 ; W. VII. 384, 386, 524.

delivered at an ordination,* and published many years afterwards.

(55.) While I was in this retired situation, I had, in consequence of much pains and thought, become persuaded of the falsity of the doctrine of atonement, of the inspiration of the authors of the books of Scripture as writers, and of all idea of supernatural influence, except for the purpose of miracles. But I was still an Arian, having never turned my attention to the Socinian doctrine, and contenting myself with seeing the absurdity of the Trinitarian system.

(56.) Another task that I imposed on myself, and in part executed at Needham, was an accurate comparison of the Hebrew text of the hagiographa, and the prophets with the version of the Septuagint, noting all the variations, &c. This I had about half finished before I left that place; and I never resumed it, except to do that occasionally for particular passages, which I then began, though with many disadvantages, with a design to go through the whole. I had no polyglot Bible,† and could have little help from the labours of others.

(57.) The most learned of my acquaintance in this situation was Mr. Scott, of Ipswich,‡ who was well versed in the Oriental languages, especially the Arabic. But though he was far from being Calvinistical, he gave me no encouragement in the very free inquiries which I then entered upon. Being excluded from all communication with the more orthodox ministers in that part of the country, all my acquaintance among the Dissenting ministers, besides Mr. Scott, were Mr. Taylor, of Stowmarket;§ Mr. Dickinson, of Diss; and Mr. Smithson, of Harleston: and it is rather remarkable that we all left that country in the course of the same year; Mr. Taylor removing

* Of Messrs. Thomas and John Jervis, in 1779. See W. XV. 82.

† See *supra*, p. 11.

‡ Where he was ordained, in 1737, (see *supra*, p. 32, note †,) having been previously a preacher at Lowestoft. He wrote four papers in *Theol. Repos.*, (I. 70, 73, 219, 448,) and is named among the encouragers of that work. See M. R., XII. 527, 601; W. VII. 520.

Mr. Scott, who died in 1774, is now, I believe, chiefly known by his “Book of Job, in English Verse, translated from the original Hebrew, with Remarks, historical, critical, and explanatory.” *Ed.* 2, 1773.

§ See *supra*, p. 31, note.

to Carter Lane, in London, Mr. Dickinson to Sheffield, and Mr. Smithson to Nottingham.*

(58.) But I was very happy in a great degree of intimacy with Mr. Chaùvet, the rector of Stowmarket. He was descended of French parents; and, I think, was not born in England. Whilst he lived, we were never long without seeing each other. But he was subject to great unevenness of spirits, sometimes the most cheerful man living, and at other times most deplorably low. In one of these fits he at length put an end to his life. I heard afterwards, that he had at one time been confined for insanity, and had even made the same attempt some time before.

(59.) Like most other young men of a liberal education, I had conceived a great aversion to the business of a school-master, and had often said that I would have recourse to any thing else for a maintenance in preference to it. But having no other resource, I was at length compelled by necessity to make some attempt in that way; and for this purpose I printed and distributed *proposals*, but without any effect. Not that I was thought to be unqualified for this employment, but because I was not orthodox. I had proposed to teach the classics, mathematics, &c., for half-a-guinea per quarter, and to board the pupils in the house with myself for twelve guineas per annum.

(60.) Finding this scheme not to answer, I proposed to give lectures to grown persons, in such branches of science as I could conveniently procure the means of doing; and I began with reading about twelve lectures on the *Use of the Globes*, at half-a-guinea. I had one course of ten hearers, which did something more than pay for my globes; and I should have proceeded in this way, adding to my apparatus as I should have been able to afford it, if I had not left that place, which was in the following manner.

(61.) My situation being well known to my friends, Mr. Gill,† a distant relation by my mother, who had taken much

* See *supra*, p. 33, note §.

† Probably Rev. Jeremiah Gill, Gainsborough, who contributed to *Theol. Repos.* (I. 431, III. 382) "Remarks on Dr. Lardner's Treatise on the Logos," and "A Criticism on *Gal.* i. 10." See M. R. XII. 527, 601.

notice of me before I went to the academy, and had often lent me books, procured me an invitation to preach as a candidate at Sheffield, on the resignation of Mr. Wadsworth.* Accordingly I did preach as a candidate, but though my opinions were no objection to me there, I was not approved. But Mr. Haynes, the other minister, † perceiving that I had no chance at Sheffield, told me that he could recommend me to a congregation at Nantwich, in Cheshire, where he himself had been settled; and as it was at a great distance from Needham, he would endeavour to procure me an invitation to preach there for a year certain. This he did,‡ and I, gladly accepting of it, removed from Needham, going thence to London by sea, to save expense. This was in 1758, after having been at Needham just three years.

(62.) At Nantwich I found a good-natured, friendly people, with whom I lived three years very happily; and in this situation I heard nothing of those controversies which had been the topics of almost every conversation in Suffolk;§ and the consequence was, that I gave little attention to them myself. Indeed it was hardly in my power to do it, on account of my engagement with a school, which I was soon able to establish, and to which I gave almost all my attention; and in this employment, contrary to my expectations, I found the greatest satisfaction, notwithstanding the confinement and labour attending it.

(63.) My school generally consisted of about thirty boys, and I had a separate room for about half-a-dozen young ladies. Thus I was employed from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon, without any interval except one hour for dinner; and I never gave a holiday on any consideration, the red letter days, as they are called, excepted. Immediately after this em-

* "Field Sylvester Wadsworth." M. R. IX. 266.

† See *supra*, pp. 8—10.

‡ The Rev. J. Hunter has communicated to me a letter from Mr. Haynes to a friend at Nantwich, dated "Sheffield, Dec. 12, 1757." Mr. H. says,

"I think I could move a young gentleman in Essex, [Suffolk,] viz. Mr. Priestley, who is a man both of genius and learning, but it is too far to come on trial, nor can you afford to pay him for his journey, nor will, at all adventures, give him an invitation on my opinion of him."

§ Compare *supra*, pp. 29—32.

ployment in my own school rooms, I went to teach in the family of Mr. Tomkinson, an eminent attorney, and a man of large fortune, whose recommendation was of the greatest service to me; and here I continued until seven in the evening. I had, therefore, but little leisure for reading, or for improving myself in any way, except what necessarily arose from my employment.

(64.) Being engaged in the business of a school-master, I made it my study to regulate it in the best manner, and I think I may say with truth, that in no school was more business done, or with more satisfaction, either to the master or the scholars, than in this of mine. Many of my scholars are probably living, and I am confident that they will say that this is no vain boast.

(65.) At Needham I was barely able, with the greatest economy, to keep out of debt, (though this I always made a point of doing at all events,) but at Nantwich my school soon enabled me to purchase a few books, and some philosophical instruments, as a small air-pump, an electrical machine, &c. These I taught my scholars in the highest class to keep in order, and make use of; and by entertaining their parents and friends with experiments, in which the scholars were generally the operators, and sometimes the lecturers too, I considerably extended the reputation of my school; though I had no other object originally than gratifying my own taste. I had no leisure, however, to make any original experiments until many years after this time.*

(66.) As there were few children in the congregation, (which did not consist of more than sixty persons, and a great proportion of them travelling Scotchmen,) there was no scope for exertion with respect to my duty as a minister. I therefore contented myself with giving the people what assistance I could at their own houses, where there were young persons; and I added very few sermons to those which I had composed at Needham, where I never failed to make at least one every week.

* See 80.

(67.) Being boarded with Mr. Eddowes,* a very sociable and sensible man, and at the same time the person of the greatest property in the congregation, and who was fond of music, I was induced to learn to play a little on the English flute, as the easiest instrument; and though I was never a proficient in it, my playing contributed more or less to my amusement many years of my life.† I would recommend the knowledge and practice of music to all studious persons; and it will be better for them, if like myself, they should have no very fine ear, or exquisite taste; as by this means they will be more easily pleased, and be less apt to be offended when the performances they hear are but indifferent.

(68.) At Nantwich I had hardly any literary acquaintance besides Mr. Brereton,‡ a clergyman in the neighbourhood, who had a taste for astronomy, philosophy, and literature in general. I often slept at his house, in a room to which he gave my name. But his conduct afterwards was unworthy of his profession.

(69.) Of Dissenting ministers, I saw most of Mr. Keay, of Whitchurch; and Dr. Harwood,§ who lived and had a school

* Of the same family, I understand, as Ralph Eddowes, of Chester, who removed to Philadelphia, in 1793. M. R. IX. 265.

† See a reference to this "amusement" in "Remarks on Reid," (S. viii.) W. III. 51.

‡ Probably the person mentioned in a "View of the Dissenters," 1769, *ad init.*, as "a very sensible clergyman, an excellent scholar, and a person of a philosophical taste." W. XXII. 338.

§ Who died in 1794, aged 65.

In the preface to his translation of Abaazir's Miscellanies, 1774, Dr. Harwood, referring to the second of his Dissertations, in which he had maintained the Arian doctrine, says,

"I wish my ingenious friend, Dr. Priestley, would answer it, and shew the fallacy of my interpretations; for he knows that the world never laid me under obligations to serve any party, and that I am rigidly attached to nothing but truth."

During the succeeding ten years, the inquiries of Dr. Harwood had brought him nearer to Dr. Priestley. In a letter to Mr. William Christie, of Montrose, afterwards of America, in 1784, he thus writes:

"I am inclined to think that Socinianism, when the diction and phraseology of the New Testament are better understood, will be found to be the doctrine of scripture. I have written in favour of Arianism these twenty

at Congleton, preaching alternately at Leek and Wheelock, the latter place about ten miles from Nantwich. Being both of us schoolmasters, and having in some respect the same pursuits, we made exchanges for the sake of spending a Sunday evening together every six weeks in the summer time. He was a good classical scholar, and a very entertaining companion.

(70.) In my congregation there was (out of the house in which I was boarded) hardly more than one family in which I could spend a leisure hour with much satisfaction, and that was Mr. James Caldwell's, a Scotchman. Indeed several of the travelling Scotchmen who frequented the place, but made no long stay at any time, were men of very good sense; and, what I thought extraordinary, not one of them was at all Calvinistical.

(71.) My engagements in teaching allowed me but little time for composing any thing while I was at Nantwich. There, however, I recomposed my "Observations on the Character and Reasoning of the Apostle Paul," as mentioned before.* For the use of my school, I then wrote an English Grammar,† on a new plan, leaving out all such technical terms as were borrowed from other languages, and had no corresponding modifications in ours, as the future tense, &c.; and to this I afterwards subjoined "Observations for the Use of Proficients in the Language,"‡ from the notes which I collected at Warrington,

years, but I hesitate, and I have given a proof of my candour and diffidence in my little tract 'Of the Socinian Scheme.'" See M. R. VI. 130.

In 1786, Dr. H. addressed a Letter to Mr. John Marsom, maintaining that "the Holy Spirit only means the power and agency of the one Supreme God" *Ibid* II. 113.

* *Supra*, pp. 37—39.

† "The Rudiments of English Grammar," 1761. W. XXIII. 12, *note* †, 13—45. One edition had, I understand, a frontispiece by Fuseli. This Grammar Mr. Bretland republished, in 1785, with additions. See Dr. Priestley's letter, *ibid.*, p. 13.

‡ "Printed in 1772, at London." Mr. Priestley adds, "David Hume was made sensible of the gallicisms and peculiarities of his style by reading this grammar. He acknowledged it to Mr. Griffith, the bookseller." *Note*.

"It is not," says Mr. Tytler, "in the first publications of Mr. Hume that we are to look for those beauties of composition which we admire in his later and more elaborate works. It is, therefore, in his History of England, that

where, being tutor in the languages and Belles Lettres, I gave particular attention to the English language, and intended to have composed a large treatise on the structure and present state of it. But dropping the scheme in another situation, I lately gave such parts of my collection as I had made no use of, to Mr. Herbert Croft, of Oxford, on his communicating to me his design of compiling a dictionary and grammar of our language.*

(72.) The academy at Warrington was instituted† when I we must look for that style of which the merit is universally confessed." See "Mem. of Lord Kames," 8vo. I. 236, 237.

Yet the late Dr. Stuart, having acknowledged the abundance of "careless inimitable beauties" discovered in the History, immediately subjoins the following censure:

"Considering the critical attention which Mr. Hume appears to have given to the *minutiæ* of style, it is somewhat surprising that he should himself fail so frequently, both in purity and grammatical correctness." See "Life of Robertson," 4to. p. 53, *note*.

* This "design" was not completed. There was published, in 1788, "An unfinished Letter to W. Pitt, concerning the New Dictionary of the English Language, by Sir Herbert Croft." He is now remembered for the notices of Chatterton in his once celebrated pamphlet, "Love and Madness;" and for his Life of Young, communicated to Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."

† In 1757, chiefly by "the public-spirited activity of Mr. John Seddon, then a young and highly popular minister" in that town. (See M. R. V. 428—430.)

Mr. Seddon "succeeded in stimulating the principal merchants and others in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other places, to attempt the establishment of an academical institution, which should unite, as far as possible, the advantage of the public and more private method, and be calculated for the education of ministers, free to follow the dictates of their own judgments in their inquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their understandings."

It was "at the same time" proposed "to give some knowledge to those who were to be engaged in commercial life, as well as in the learned professions, in the more useful branches of literature; and to lead them to an early acquaintance with, and just concern for, the true principles of religion and liberty, of which they must be in future life the supporters." See "Historical Account of the Warrington Academy," *Ibid.* VIII. 2, &c.

The accomplishment of these valuable objects was anticipated by Mrs. Barbauld, then Miss Aikin, in "her early and beautiful poem," *The Invitation*. "No academic," says her biographer, "has ever celebrated his *alma mater* in nobler strains, or with more filial affection." See "The Works of Anna Lætitia Barbauld," (1825,) I. xi., 16—22.

was at Needham, and Mr. Clark,* knowing the attention that I had given to the learned languages when I was at Daventry, had then joined with Dr. Benson† and Dr. Taylor‡ in recommending me as tutor in the languages.§ But Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Aikin,|| whose qualifications were superior to mine, was justly preferred to me. However, on the death of Dr. Taylor,¶ and the advancement of Mr. Aikin to be tutor in divinity, I was invited to succeed him. This I accepted, though my school promised to be more gainful to me. But my employment at Warrington would be more liberal, and less painful. It was also a means of extending my connexions. But, as I told the persons who brought me the invitation, viz. Mr. Seddon** and Mr. Holland, of Bolton, I should have preferred the office of teaching the mathematics and natural philosophy, for which I had at that time a great predilection.

The Institution at length declined, and “after a feverish existence, totally expired at the close of the session 1783.” See M. R. IX. 593.

* See *supra*, pp. 23, 25.

† See *supra*, p. 32; M. R. VIII. 4, 5.

‡ See *ibid.* pp. 3, 4, 87—91; XI, 450—452.

§ Yet in the “Hist. Account,” Mr. Clark appears to have joined Mr. Orton to recommend Mr. Aikin. *Ibid.* VIII. 5.

|| See “Mem. of Wakefield,” I. 217—222; M. R. VIII. 5, 161—172.

¶ In 1761, aged 67. *Ibid.* p. 91.

** Who, in 1758, in a letter to Dr. Benson, had considered “Mr. Priestley,” besides his youth, and the disadvantage of a defective speech, as not yet of a reputation sufficiently established, though of very fair promise.

“The trustees are sensible how desirable it is that their intended tutor should have a steady attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, of an active, lively disposition, equal to so laborious an employment, and of application that would promise a future improvement; at the same time, they are not without some apprehension of his being thought too young to sustain the character of a tutor, that the subscribers, in general, might expect a person rather more advanced in years, and, if not more perfectly acquainted in the several parts of learning, yet more known in the world, and longer experienced in life and manners. They are informed, too, *that he has some hesitation and interruption in his manner of speaking*: whether it be so considerable as to be worthy of any regard, or how far it might be likely to have an unfortunate effect in forming the voice and manner of the students, they are not able to judge.” M. R., VIII. p. 5, *note*.

CHAPTER IV.

(1761—1767.)

THE early engagements of Joseph Priestley in his favourite character of a Christian minister, the discouragements he encountered, and his incessant labours as a schoolmaster, for a scanty maintenance, have been all ingenuously related by himself. He will now appear to occupy a station which prepared for his talents a more extended exercise. Hence also he shared the society, and at length secured the intimate friendship, of men who have largely contributed to the moral and intellectual “glory of their times: leaders of the people by their counsels; wise and eloquent in their instructions; merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.” The Memoir thus proceeds:

(73.) My removal to Warrington was in September, 1761, after a residence of just three years at Nantwich. In this new situation I continued six years, and in the second year I married a daughter of Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, an ironmaster, near Wrexham, in Wales, with whose family I had become acquainted, in consequence of having the youngest son, William, at my school at Nantwich. This proved a very suitable and happy connexion, my wife being a woman of an excellent understanding, much improved by reading, of great fortitude and strength of mind, and of a temper in the highest degree affectionate and generous; feeling strongly for others, and little for

herself.* Also, greatly excelling in every thing relating to household affairs, she entirely relieved me of all concern of that kind, which allowed me to give all my time to the prosecution of my studies, and the other duties of my station. And though, in consequence of her father becoming impoverished, and wholly dependent on his children, in the latter part of his life, I had little fortune with her, I unexpectedly found a great resource in her two brothers, who had become wealthy, especially the elder of them. At Warrington I had a daughter, Sarah, who was afterwards married to Mr. William Finch, of Heath Forge, near Dudley.†

* This felicitous union, amidst greatly varying worldly circumstances, continued during thirty-four years, Mrs. Priestley dying at Northumberland, U. S., Sept. 17, 1796, aged fifty-two. Her son relates that his father, "noting the event in his diary," writes, nearly in the language of his Memoir, that "she was of a noble and generous mind, and cared much for others, and little for herself, through life." The particulars of the affecting bereavement, and the Christian consolations which sustained the suffering survivor, will be described, in the sequel, from Dr. Priestley's letters to Mr. Lindsey and Mrs. Barbauld.

“This happy connexion added greatly to his usefulness as well as his comfort, for it enabled him to take a number of the young men into his house as boarders, to their own great advantage, and it secured to him, both in their parents and in themselves, many valuable friendships, which were of great importance to him in the subsequent periods of his life. Mrs. Priestley's engaging manners and highly improving society attracted the warm attachment of many friends, particularly of Mrs. Barbauld, then Miss Aikin, whose deep regrets on her leaving Warrington were expressed in one of the first and finest productions of her muse.” *M. R. VIII. 231.* See “*The Works of A. L. Barbauld*,” (1825,) pp. 39, 46.

† Mrs. Finch died in 1803, a few months before her affectionate father. His exemplary daughter's Christian endurance of adversity will be found noticed in some of his latest letters to Mr. Lindsey. Of her eldest child, Anne Finch, who died in 1809, and in whom the juniors of her family lost a second mother, though she had reached only her twenty-first year, there is an interesting obituary, which may, I believe, be justly ascribed to the pen of Mrs. Barbauld. I adorn this page with the conclusion :

“When loveliness, arrayed in opening bloom,
Framed to delight the sense, the heart to cheer,
Sinks early blasted to the silent tomb,
Who can suppress the sigh, restrain the tear?

[But

(74.) Though at the time of my removal to Warrington I had no particular fondness for the studies relating to my profession then, I applied to them with great assiduity;* and

But faith sheds comfort on the troubled mind,
And gratitude recounts what once was given;
To Him who lent it be the boon resigned:
What soul *too* spotless, kind, and good, for heaven?"

M. R. IV. 172.

* The Preface to "Lectures on History," and the "Essay on Education," discover the effects of this application in the lecturer's satisfactory methods of academical instruction. W. XXIV. 4—6, 20—22. In a letter to Mr. Rotheram, from "Warrington, Feb. 14, 1766," the tutor's labours, and his moderate pecuniary recompense, are thus described:

"I think myself much honoured by Mr. Blackburn's inquiry after my department in the academy. Besides the three courses of lectures, of which an account is given in the Essay, I teach Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, and read Lectures on the Theory of Language and Universal Grammar, on Oratory and Philosophical Criticism, and also on the Civil Law. This is the principal part of my business. Our terms are two guineas each tutor any student attends; and not less than half-a-guinea for entrance, which is applied to the augmentation of our library." *Orig.* MS.

The following recollections of his tutor are from the pen of the late Mr. Simpson, a pupil well prepared by his own attainments in mature life to appreciate the methods and advantages of his early education:

"What Dr. Priestley added in discoursing from his written lectures (most of which are since published to the world) was pointedly and clearly illustrative of the subject before him, and expressed with great simplicity and distinctness of language, though he sometimes manifested that difficulty of utterance which he mentions in the Memoirs of his Life. At the conclusion of his lecture he always encouraged the students to express their sentiments relative to the subjects of it, and to urge any objections to what he had delivered without reserve. It pleased him when any one commenced such a conversation. In order to excite the freest discussion, he occasionally invited the students to drink tea with him, in order to canvas the subjects of his lectures. I do not recollect that he ever shewed the least displeasure at the strongest objections that were made to what he delivered; but I distinctly remember the smile of approbation with which he usually received them; nor did he fail to point out in a very encouraging manner the ingenuity or force of any remarks that were made, when they merited these characters. His object, as well as Dr. Aikin's, was to engage the students to examine and decide for themselves, uninfluenced by the sentiments of any other person. His written lectures he used to permit each student to take and read in his own lodgings. Those on Rhetoric he gave them the liberty of copying, those on History of reading only, as he intended

besides composing courses of "Lectures on the Theory of Language," and on "Oratory and Criticism,"* on which my predecessor† had lectured, I introduced lectures on "History and General Policy,"‡ on the "Laws and Constitution of England," and on the "History of England."§ This I did in consequence of observing that, though most of our pupils were young men designed for situations in civil and active life, every article in the plan of their education was adapted to the learned professions.

(75.) In order to recommend such studies as I introduced, I composed an "Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life," with "Syllabuses" of my three new courses of lectures; and Dr. Brown having just then published a plan of education, in which he recommended it to be undertaken by the state,|| I added some "Remarks on his Treatise,"

them for publication. From minutes in short-hand, he dictated to each student, by turns, one of the lectures on History, who copied after him in long-hand. From this copy the Doctor told me they were printed, with some additions only, relative to subsequent events.

"Without the least tincture of superstition or enthusiasm, both Dr. Aikin and Dr. Priestley endeavoured to instil into the minds of the students an habitual regard to good morals, and a veneration for the Supreme Being, and for the Christian Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the great purpose and design of which, to instruct and improve mankind in piety and virtue, they judged to be best promoted by the most thorough, liberal, and unbiassed inquiry into the evidence of their divine authority, and the true meaning of their contents.

"To have enjoyed the privilege, while young, of having such able, liberal, and communicative instructors, I have always considered among the chief blessings of my life." M. R. VIII. 229.

* W. XXIII. 121, 257.

† Dr. Aikin. See *supra*, p. 47.

‡ W. XXIV. 25—438.

§ These were never printed. See W. XXIV. 440, *note* †.

|| "The purpose of this Essay is to prove, by reasonings confirmed by facts, that a certain system of manners and principles, mutually supporting each other, and pervading the whole community, are the only permanent foundation on which true civil liberty can arise."

The author alleges "the force of manners and principles in the strong formation, the unanimity and continuance of the Spartan state," where "no father had a right to educate his children according to the caprice of his own fancy;" and "the effects of the want of manners and principles in the weak establishment, the unceasing factions, and early dissolution of the Commonwealth of Athens;" representing, as its "first and ruling defect, the

shewing how inimical it was to liberty, and the natural rights of parents.* This leading me to consider the subject of civil and political liberty, I published my thoughts on it, in an "Essay on Government,"† which in a second edition I much

total want of an established education suited to the genius of the state;" for "the parents," though they "often had masters to instruct their children," yet they "were much at liberty to do as seemed good to them. Hence a dissimilar and discordant system of manners and principles." See "Thoughts on Civil Liberty, &c. By the Author of Essays on the Characteristics, &c." *Ed.* 2, (1765,) pp. 23, 46, 61—63.

* These pieces were published in 1765, in one vol. 8vo. Annexed was "A Short Account and Specimen of a Chart of Biography." See W. XXIV. 7—25, 439—463.

† In 1768, (W. XXII. 3,) when it appears to have attracted the notice of a distinguished advocate of popular rights the most extensive, and of intelligible and equal laws, rendered efficient by their prompt, impartial, and unexpensive administration.

Mr. Jeremy Bentham, in 1821, describing as the only just purpose of government, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," adds, "a phrase, for which, upwards of fifty years ago, I became indebted to a pamphlet of Dr. Priestley's." See "The Liberty of the People and Public Discussion," p. 24.

I have not found the "phrase," *verbatim*, in Dr. Priestley's works. Yet it was, probably, this Essay, and not "a pamphlet," to which Mr. Bentham referred, and, allowing for imperfect recollection after so long an interval, the following might have been the passage designed :

"The good and happiness of the members, that is, the majority of the members, of any state, is the great standard by which every thing relating to that state must finally be determined." W. XXII. 13.

Afterwards, the "Essay" was exposed to the animadversion of Dean Tucker, a politician of a far different school, who, for some passages too favourable to popular rights, has classed Dr. Priestley among "the Lockeans," describing him as "the fairest, the most open, and ingenuous of all Mr. Locke's disciples, excepting honest, undissembling Rousseau."

The passages on which the Dean has founded his censure are extracted from the first two sections of the Essay, (W. XXII. 10—12, 26,) and he is especially sarcastic on the following sentiments :

"All governments whatever have been, in some measure, compulsive, tyrannical, and oppressive in their origin. And since every man retains and can never be deprived of his natural right (founded on a regard to the general good) of relieving himself from all oppression, that is, from every thing that has been imposed upon him without his own consent, this must be the only true and proper foundation of all the governments subsisting in the world, and that to which the people who compose them have an unalienable right to bring them back." This right the Dean distinguishes as "the Lockean or popular title." See "A Treatise concerning Civil Government,

enlarged, including in it what I wrote in answer to Dr. Balguy, "on Church Authority,* as well as my animadversions on Dr. Brown.†

(76.) My "Lectures on the Theory of Language and Universal Grammar," were printed for the use of the students,‡ but they were not published. Those on "Oratory and Criticism," I published§ when I was with Lord Shelburne; and those on "History and General Policy" are now printed, and about to be published.||

(77.) Finding no public exercises at Warrington, I intro-

by Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester," (1781,) pp. 13—17, 22, 23, 39, 40, 84, 86, 144.

Dr. Priestley was promptly and ably defended, by a well-informed and liberal writer, in "A Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke" (1782). See "Tracts on Political and other Subjects. By Joseph Towers, LL. D.," (1796,) pp. 13—17, 58, 68.

* See W. XXII. 3, 79, 91, 99—117, 517—522.

† See W. XXII. 3, 41—54, 60—63, 118—144. Dr. Kippis, in the Life of Dr. Brown, says, that "these observations, which are very sensible and spirited, have great force and reason in them; but the subject is not without its difficulties;" adding in a note,

"We do not wonder that Dr. Priestley, whose heart was warmed with paternal affection, and who was conscious of his ability to train up his children in the best manner, should be struck with horror at the thought of having that delightful business, in any measure, taken out of his hands. It must, however, be lamented, that education, under the direction of individuals, will, in all probability, require a long time to be carried to perfection."

Dr. Kippis then proposes, as "an important question, perhaps not of easy solution," writing, however, in 1780, prior to the æra of an improved and extending, uncontrouled education, "whether it would be practicable for the magistrate so far to interfere, as to prescribe young persons certain bodily exercises, and to provide for their instruction in certain general principles of integrity, patriotism, and liberty, in such a way as, while it scarcely infringed at all upon the parental rights and authority, would be evidently conducive to the public good." *Biog. Brit.* II. 662.

In a letter to Mr. Rotheram, from "Warrington, Feb. 14, 1766," Dr. Priestley says, "Mr. Lowthion acquaints me that I shall soon have the honour of an answer from Dr. Brown."—*Orig. MS* I am not aware of any answer. Of Mr. Lowthion, who died in 1780, minister of Hanover-Square congregation, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, see M. R. V. 219, 225, 226.

‡ In 1762. See W. XXIII. 121.

§ In 1777. See *ibid.* 255.

|| They first appeared in 1788; edition 2, 1793; another edition, *Philadelphia*, 1803, with a Lecture on the Constitution of the United States. See W. XXIV. v. vi. 1.

duced them there, so that afterwards every Saturday the tutors, all the students, and often strangers, were assembled to hear English and Latin compositions, and sometimes to hear the delivery of speeches, and the exhibition of scenes in plays. It was my province to teach elocution,* and also logic and Hebrew. The first of these I retained; but after a year or two I exchanged the two last articles with Dr. Aikin, for the civil law, and one year I gave a course of lectures in anatomy.

(78.) With a view to lead the students to a facility in writing English, I encouraged them to write in verse. This I did not with any design to make them poets, but to give them a greater facility in writing prose, and this method I would recommend to all tutors. I was myself far from having any pretension to the character of a poet; but in the early part of my life I was a great versifier,† and this, I believe, as well as my custom of writing after preachers, mentioned before,‡ contributed to the ease with which I always wrote prose. Mrs. Barbauld§ has told me that it was the perusal of some verses of mine that first induced her to write any thing in verse, so that this country is in some measure indebted to me for one of the best poets it can boast of. Several of her first poems were written when she was in my house, on occasions that occurred while she was there.||

(79.) It was while I was at Warrington that I published my “Chart of Biography,”¶ though I had begun to construct it at Nantwich. Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who lived in Lancashire, being pleased with the idea of it, I, with his con-

* “Though no proficient in oratory himself,” says one of his pupils, “Dr. Priestley contrived to render himself very useful in the promotion of it among the students. His observations on their defects in speaking, and his directions how to remedy them, were very judicious; and he had the advantage of being able to refer them to excellent practical models in Dr. Aikin and Mr. Seddon.” M. R. VIII. 230.

† See *supra*, p. 19, note †. Such, as appears by his autobiography, was Franklin.

‡ *Supra*, p. 18.

§ Who died in 1825, aged 81. See “Memoir by Lucy Aikin,” prefixed to “the Works of Anna Lætitia Barbauld.”

|| See Vol. XV. p. 101.

¶ In 1765. See *infra*, p. 63; W. XXIV. 134, 135, 463.

sent, inscribed it to him; but he died before the publication of it: the "Chart of History," corresponding to it, I drew up some time after* at Leeds.

(80.) I was in this situation, when, going to London,† and being introduced to Dr. Price, Mr. Canton,‡ Dr. Watson, (the physician,)§ and Dr. Franklin, I was led to attend to the subject of experimental philosophy, more than I had done before; and having composed all the lectures I had occasion to deliver, and finding myself at liberty for any undertaking, I mentioned to Dr. Franklin an idea that had occurred to me of writing the history of discoveries in electricity, which had been his favourite study.¶ This I told him might be an useful work, and that I would willingly undertake it, provided I could be furnished with the books necessary for the purpose.

* In 1769. See W. XXIV. 134, 477.

† Mr. Priestley here adds that his father "always spent one month in every year in London, which was of great use to him. He saw and heard a great deal. He generally made additions to his library, and his chemical apparatus. A new turn was frequently given to his ideas. New and useful acquaintances were formed, and old ones confirmed."

‡ "The first person in England who, by attracting the electric fire from the clouds during a thunder-storm, (July 20, 1752,) verified Dr. Franklin's hypothesis of the similarity of lightning and electricity." On Franklin's "arrival in England," in 1757, as agent for the colonies, "a friendship" commenced between them, "which ever after continued, without interruption or diminution."

John Canton, F.R.S., who was master of an academy in Spital Square, died in 1772, aged 53. Dr. Kippis, who was well acquainted with Mr. Canton, describes him as "a man of very amiable character and manners; in conversation calm, mild, and rather sparing than redundant;" yet "what he did say, remarkably sensible and judicious." *Biog. Brit.* III. 217, 218, 222.

§ "Dr. William Watson," of "whose early and distinguished prosecution of electrical inquiries" Dr. Kippis speaks as "well known." *Ibid.* 216.

¶ His attention had been first directed to this subject in 1745, when Peter Collinson, F.R.S., sent "to the directors of the library at Philadelphia," of whom Franklin was one, "an account of some new experiments in electricity lately made in Germany." *Biog. Brit.* IV. 36.

Franklin's first letter "to his friend Collinson," communicating "his observations, is dated March 28, 1747." His paper to the Royal Society is dated "July 11" that year. Dr. Watson followed, "Jan. 21, 1748." See "Life of Franklin," (1826,) p. 131.

This he readily undertook, and my other friends assisting him in it, I set about the work, without having the least idea of doing any thing more than writing a distinct and methodical account of all that had been done by others. Having, however, a pretty good machine, I was led, in the course of my writing the history, to endeavour to ascertain several facts which were disputed; and this led me by degrees into a large field of original experiments, in which I spared no expense that I could possibly furnish.*

(81.) These experiments employed a great proportion of my leisure time; and yet before the complete expiration of the year, in which I gave the plan of my work to Dr. Franklin, I sent him a copy of it in print. In the same year five hours of every day were employed in lectures, public or private, and one two months' vacation I spent chiefly at Bristol, on a visit to my father-in-law.

(82.) This I do not mention as a subject of boasting, for many persons have done more in the same time, but as an answer to those who have objected to some of my later writings, as hasty performances; for none of my publications were better received than this "History of Electricity," which was the most hasty of them all.† However, whether my publications have taken up more or less time, I am confident that more would not have contributed to their perfection in any essential particular; and about any thing farther I have never been very solicitous. My object was not to acquire the

* On the subject of this paragraph Dr. Priestley thus writes to Mr. Rotheram :

"Warrington, Feb. 14, 1766. I have lately been at London, and formed a most agreeable acquaintance with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Canton, Dr. Watson, and other philosophers and electricians. I have been engaged by them to write a Treatise on Electricity, in which I shall give a full history of all the discoveries in the order of time in which they were made. I have made three or four new experiments myself, of which you will probably see an account in the Philosophical Transactions. I do not recollect whether you had a taste for these subjects. I am enthusiastically fond of them, particularly since I got a little apparatus of my own, which I had a year or two before I came to Warrington." *Orig. MS.*

† The first preface is dated "March 1767." See W. XXV. 353.

character of a fine writer, but of an useful one.* I can also truly say, that gain was never the chief object of any of my publications. Several of them were written with the prospect of certain loss.

(83.) During the course of my electrical experiments in this year, I kept up a constant correspondence with Dr. Franklin, and the rest of my philosophical friends in London; and my letters circulated among them all, as also every part of my History as it was transcribed.† This correspondence would have made a considerable volume, and it took up much time;

* See *supra*, p. 18, *note*. "Though in after life," says V. F., "the multitude and variety of his writings, and the necessity which their rapid composition imposed upon him to attend to the matter rather than to the manner, occasioned them to be remarkable for sound sense, expressed in plain and conspicuous, but always vigorous, language, rather than for the correctness of the style and the polished elegance of the periods; yet several of his earlier compositions, particularly the Sermon on the Duty of not Living to Ourselves, the Description of his Chart of Biography, and the Preface to his History of Electricity, are very finely written. His actual success in contributing to the formation of very excellent writers, both in prose and verse, might be specified in several distinguished instances, within, and also without, the strict precincts of the academy." M. R. VIII. 230.

† Thus he writes to Dr. Price: "Warrington, March 8, 1766. You will by this time have received one number of my History of Electricity. I have another of them transcribed, and the quantity of two more ready to transcribe. I find I have English materials enow, but I find a want of several foreign articles.

"I take it for granted you have seen the letter I wrote about a fortnight ago to Dr. Franklin. I desired he would shew it to you and Mr. Canton. Writing upon a philosophical subject to any of you, I would have it considered as writing to you all."

Again, "Jan. 21, 1767. This day I have received your obliging letter, and, some time before, those from Dr. Franklin and Mr. Canton. These letters, and those I received from you all, about the electrified vanes, convince me that the only method to make you have recourse to your apparatus, is to contradict you. I am sorry that I was not sufficiently aware of this before I would have found you all work enough. At present this business is nearly over with me." The letter thus concludes on a very different subject:

"Hartley quotes the essay you mention as what gave him some hints, but it is in many respects different from his sentiments. It is not fair to charge one another with those consequences which we disclaim. Were I to follow that rule, I could draw a much blacker picture of your sentiments than you do of mine." *Orig. MS.*

but it was of great use with respect to the accuracy of my experiments, and the perfection of my work.

(84.) After the publication of my "Chart of Biography," Dr. Percival, of Manchester,* then a student at Edinburgh, procured me the title of Doctor of Laws, from that university; and not long after, my new experiments in electricity were the means of introducing me into the Royal Society, with the recommendation of Dr. Franklin, Dr. Watson, Mr. Canton, and Dr. Price.†

(85.) In the whole time of my being at Warrington, I was singularly happy in the society of my fellow-tutors,‡ and of Mr. Seddon, the minister of the place.§ We drank tea toge-

* A native of Warrington. He was the first student who entered the academy there, in 1757. M. R. IX. 201. Dr. Percival, distinguished by his moral and literary, as well as by his medical writings, died in 1804, aged 64. To his works, in four vols. 8vo, was prefixed a Memoir by his son.

† To whom Dr. Priestley thus writes, in the letter of "March 8, 1766," lately quoted:

"I ask pardon if I was guilty of any impropriety in desiring the recommendation of Lord Charles Cavendish. I thought that if his friends, Mr. Canton and Dr. Franklin, could not satisfy him from my letters, (which you are pleased to suppose would recommend me to the Society,) that I was a person properly qualified to be a member, mere personal acquaintance had been of no moment at all. My recommendation to the University of Edinburgh was signed by Lord Willoughby. He also wrote to Dr. Robertson in my favour. A copy of this Dr. Robertson gave my friend Dr. Percival, who has sent it to Dr. Watson, as it may possibly be of some weight in this affair.

"I shall write out a full account of the new experiments I have mentioned to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Canton after a week or two, in which I shall have made other experiments which have a connexion with them. In the mean time my friends here think it will be best to mention them to some of the principal members, and to read the full account of them to the Society about the time of election; but I beg of you, dear Sir, and Mr. Canton, not to have me proposed at all, (if it be not done,) unless you be morally certain it will be carried. I thankfully accept the offer of your name and Mr. Canton's, and desire you would act in concert with Dr. Watson." *Orig. MS.*

‡ Dr. Aikin, (*supra*, p. 47,) and Mr. Holt, who died in 1772. See M. R. VIII. 576.

§ See *supra*, p. 47. Mr. Seddon died in 1770, aged 45. "Dr. Percival, who from his youth had been trained up under his direction," has ably and agreeably characterized, in his *Father's Instructions*, "this counsellor of his youth and companion of his riper years." *Ibid.* V. 429. See *ibid.* VIII. 289—291.

ther every Saturday, and our conversation was equally instructive and pleasing. I often thought it not a little extraordinary that four persons, who had no previous knowledge of each other, should have been brought to unite in conducting such a scheme as this, and all be zealous Necessarians, as we were. We were likewise all Arians, and the only subject of much consequence on which we differed was respecting the doctrine of Atonement, concerning which Dr. Aikin held some obscure notions. Accordingly, this was frequently the topic of our friendly conversations. The only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Mr. Seddon, of Manchester;* and we all wondered at him.† But then we never entered into any particular examination of the subject.

(86.) Receiving some of the pupils into my own house, I was by this means led to form some valuable friendships, but especially with Mr. Samuel Vaughan,‡ a friendship which has continued hitherto, has in a manner connected our families, and will, I doubt not, continue through life. The two eldest of his sons were boarded with me.§

* Where he continued a preacher, with great reputation, till his decease in 1769, aged 53. His “Sermons on the Person of Christ, and on Self-deception,” with a Memoir of the author prefixed, by the Rev. R. Harrison, have been circulated by the Unitarian Society. See M. R. V. 322, 323.

† The people of Manchester appear also to have wondered. “A lady” of his congregation, writing “to a friend in Chester, July 1, 1761,” says,

“What do you hear of our good Mr. Seddon? for I think it very probable the rumour of his present subjects has reached you, as I find they afford great matter of speculation here, and last Sabbath-day we had several strangers at chapel, drawn by curiosity. Sorry I was at first that he had taken up the subject, but he addressed us in so striking a manner, and gave such weighty reasons, as not only justified him to me, but highly raised him in my esteem.” *Ibid.* XIII 430.

‡ To whom Dr. Priestley dedicated his Treatise on Education. W. XXV. 3. Mr. Vaughan, who had been an intimate friend of Dr. Franklin, died at Hackney in 1802, aged 82.

§ See W. XXIV. 3. From the following passages, in a letter to Dr. Price, it appears that Dr. Priestley at first declined the proposal, and they serve to shew how moderate, sixty years ago, was the pecuniary remuneration even for the most liberal private tuition:

“Leeds, Jan. 12, 1770. I must desire you to inform Mr. Vaughan that I

(87.) The tutors having sufficient society among themselves, we had not much acquaintance out of the academy. Sometimes, however, I made an excursion to the towns in the neighbourhood. At Liverpool I was always received by Mr. Bentley, afterwards partner with Mr. Wedgwood, a man of excellent taste, improved understanding, and a good disposition,* but an unbeliever in Christianity, which was therefore often the subject of our conversation. He was then a widower, and we generally, and contrary to my usual custom, sat up late. At Manchester I was always the guest of Mr. Potter, whose son Thomas† was boarded with me. He was one of the worthiest men that ever lived. At Chowbent I was much acquainted with Mr. Mort, a man equally distinguished by his cheerfulness and liberality of sentiment.‡

(88.) Of the ministers in the neighbourhood I recollect with much satisfaction the interviews I had with Mr. Godwin, of

think myself honoured by the confidence he would place in me, by placing his sons in my family, and that I know no person whose sons I would take with more satisfaction, but that it is not convenient to me to take any. My wife's anxiety about them would be so great that I am afraid it would be prejudicial to her health.

"If I ever should take boarders to educate, I would give my best attention to them, but I should expect for it what would really make it worth my while. If I took only two or three, I should not take less than Mr. Cappe, of York, now has, 50*l.* per annum.

"Except I took a great number, I am sure that less than 50*l.* would not be an equivalent for the time they would necessarily take up; and I could not satisfy myself without doing my duty in the fullest manner that I am capable of." *Orig.* MS.

* Mr. Thomas Hollis, in a letter to the Rev. T. Lindsey, "July 26, 1766," says, "Mr. Thomas Bentley, merchant of Liverpool, by all account is a most worthy gentleman." *Orig.* MS.

† Afterwards a merchant in Manchester, especially honoured for "integrity in his dealings" among the merchants of the continent. M. R. IX. 205.

‡ Mr. John Mort died in 1788. "A short View of his Life, Sentiments, and Character," &c., published by the late Mr. Henry Toulmin, a minister at Chowbent, who emigrated to the United States, has been circulated by the Unitarian Society. See *ibid.* VI. 131, 132.

There was a character of Mr. Mort in *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1788, with lines which had been addressed to him by Mrs. Barbauld. *Ibid.* See her *Works*, I. 49.

Gatecre;* Mr. Holland, of Bolton; and Dr. Enfield, of Liverpool, afterwards tutor at Warrington.†

(89.) Though all the tutors in my time lived in the most perfect harmony, though we all exerted ourselves to the utmost, and there was no complaint of want of discipline, the academy did not flourish. There had been an unhappy difference between Dr. Taylor and the trustees, in consequence of which all his friends, who were numerous, were our enemies; and too many of the subscribers being probably weary of the subscription, were willing to lay hold of any pretence for dropping it, and of justifying their conduct afterwards.

(90.) It is possible that in time we might have overcome the prejudices we laboured under; but there being no prospect of things being any better, and my wife having very bad health, on her account chiefly I wished for a removal, though nothing could be more agreeable to me at the time than the whole of my employment, and all the laborious part of it was over. The terms also on which we took boarders, viz. fifteen pounds per annum, and my salary being only one hundred pounds per

* Who died "suddenly of an apoplectic fit at the house of his friend Mr. Holland, of Bolton," in 1807. M. R. V. 427, 428.

† In *Philosophy and Belles Lettres*: also minister of the congregation there, on the death of Mr. Seddon, in 1770. M. R. VIII. 423. One of his colleagues, and, in after life, his friend and correspondent, has recorded Dr. Enfield's unwearied, yet ill-requited exertions "as a tutor and director of this academy." W. XXII. 431, *note*. See *Mem. of Wakefield*, (1804,) I. 223, 226, 385, 551, 557. On Dr. Enfield's early productions as a *Christian* minister, see M. R. X. 233, 429, 490—492, 563.

The names Dr. Priestley has here brought together, were united, in 1780, by the publication of "Three Discourses. 1. On the Progress of Religious and Christian Knowledge. By William Enfield, LL. D. 2. On Religious Zeal; with a Comparative View of the Protestant Dissenters of the Last and Present Age. By Richard Godwin. 3. On the Character, Offices, and Qualifications, of the Christian Preacher. By Philip Holland."

These discourses were dedicated by "the authors," with great propriety and justly-merited respect, to Mr. Samuel Shore, to whom Dr. Priestley dedicated, in 1790, his "History of the Christian Church." (W. VIII. 3—6.)

Mr. Shore, after enjoying a vigorous old age, extended to 90 years, closed, in 1828, an exemplary life, during which he appears to have occupied with wise liberality the rare advantages of a splendid fortune. See M. R. (1829) III. 66—70.

ammun, with a house, it was not possible, even living with the greatest frugality, to make any provision for a family. I was there six years, most laboriously employed, for nothing more than a bare subsistence. I therefore listened to an invitation to take the charge of the congregation of Mill-hill chapel,* at Leeds, where I was pretty well known, and thither I removed in September, 1767.

(91.) Though while I was at Warrington it was no part of my duty to preach, I had from choice continued the practice; and wishing to keep up the character of a Dissenting minister, I chose to be ordained† while I was there; and though I was far from having conquered my tendency to stammer,‡ and probably never shall be able to do it effectually, I had, by taking much pains, improved my pronunciation, some time before I left Nantwich, where, for the first two years, this impediment had increased so much that I once informed the people that I must give up the business of preaching, and confine myself to my school. However, by making a practice of reading very loud and very slow every day, I at length succeeded

* Described, in 1797, as having “an interesting appearance, well according with the modest simplicity of rational religion.” It “was erected in 1672,” and “said to have been the first built in the north of England after the general indulgence.” *History of Leeds*, pp. 3, 4. See W. X. 413; XV. 25, *note*.

† May 18, 1762, when Mr. Astley, Mr. John Holland, and Mr. Wilding, were also ordained. The principal ministers who conferred the ordination were Mr. Daye, Mr. Mottershead, and Mr. Braddock. M. R. XIII. 84. On Dr. Priestley's later views of “Ordination among Dissenters,” see W. XXII. 536.

The ceremonies of *ordination* had for some years been disused among those who adhered to the principles of Christian equality, as if unwilling “to encourage superstition, and to keep up a mere form when the substance is wanting.” The zeal, however, for these public exhibitions revived in 1825, (see M. R. XX., XXI., *indexes*,) and *ordination* will probably again become general among English Unitarians. The practice has also been indebted for no small encouragement, to the ability and eloquence with which these exhibitions have been adorned among the rapidly-increasing Unitarians in the United States.

If, however, *ordination* be, after all, an unjustifiable assumption, or else a *vox et preterea nihil*, it will, no doubt, be at length “put away” in the manly age of Christianity, with other “childish things.”

† See *supra*, pp. 27, 28, 33.

in getting, in some measure, the better of this defect, but I am still obliged occasionally to have recourse to the same expedient.*

The following articles of correspondence may suitably conclude Dr. Priestley's account of his residence at Warrington. They commence with a letter of the earliest date I have been able to procure; and, so far as I can discover, his only *autograph* in the British Museum.

TO DR. BIRCH.

REV. SIR,

Warrington, July 11, 1764.

As I am informed that Mr. Mynde, who is engraving a chart of biography for me, intends to apply to you for a few dates, which I desired him to endeavour to procure me, I have taken the liberty to acquaint you how sensible I shall be of the favour of any assistance that you shall give him. My Lord Willoughby, indeed, encouraged me to apply to you if I was at a loss for any dates, and said, that if I would at the same time write to him when he was in town, he would second my request; but I was unwilling to give you or his Lordship any trouble about such an affair. Indeed, except a few modern dates, which my situation in the country gave me no opportunity of learning, and which Mr. Mynde will mention to you, I have got almost every date I chose to make use of, except those of *Oulugbeg* or *Ulugh Bek*, a Tartar prince, and *Abu Temain*, an Arabian poet, which, if you could help me to, I shall be obliged to you.

But the principal reason of my giving you this trouble is to beg that you would inspect the chart, or the specimen of it, which Mr. Mynde will shew you; and if you approve of the plan, to ask Lord Willoughby's permission to inscribe it to him. I feel I cannot ask him myself; none of my friends will have an opportunity of doing it in time, and you will soon see

* Mr. Samuel Parkes, (*supra*, p. 3,) in some *memoranda*, with the use of which I have been favoured by his family, mentions Dr. Priestley's "walking to time, or pacing at a set step. He spoke a single word at every step, and, by constant repetition of these practices, acquired a habit of pacing."

him in his way through London. If you will please to do this, and acquaint Mr. Mynde with the success of your application to his Lordship, you will greatly oblige me.*

TO REV. CALEB ROTHERAM.

DEAR SIR,

Warrington, May 18, 1766.

YOU pay me a compliment in consulting me upon the subjects mentioned in your letter. I wish I had any thing to communicate to you worth your notice, but your own reflection, and a very little experience, will soon render every thing of that nature needless. I made use of Holmes' Latin Grammar, not because I altogether liked it, but because I thought it easy for beginners. I used the London Vocabulary, a few of Clarke's Translations, then a few of Sterling's editions, and lastly made my scholars read their authors without any help at all, except the Dictionary. Several of the collections for the use of Eton school are excellent; as are their four books of *Exercises*, beginning with *Exempla minora*, and ending with historical examples.

My English Grammar† was not ready time enough for me to make trial of it. It has been out of print two or three years, and I shall not consent to its being reprinted.‡ Lowth's is much better,§ but I question whether it will signify much to teach any English Grammar. Making the scholars compose dialogues, themes, &c., &c., &c., correcting their bad English, and making occasional remarks, I always found of most real use. Let them write fair copies of the English of many of their lessons, and omit no opportunity of making them write in their own language. This you will find pleasant to yourself, and of prodigious service to your pupils. Do not fail to teach geography along with the classics, for by this means your pupils will indirectly acquire much real knowledge. I had a little school library, consisting chiefly of books of natural and civil history, with books of travels, which I made them read (as a favour) with the maps before them.

* *Ayscough*, 4317.

† See *supra*, p. 45.

‡ The author was, however, soon encouraged to change his purpose. See W. XXIII. 3, *notes*.

§ See *ibid.* 12, *note*†.

All my experience in teaching school was very small, for I was schoolmaster only three years;* but if that will enable me to be of any service to you, I shall be very glad, and you may depend upon my best advice upon any occasion.

TO MR. EMANUEL DA COSTA.†

DEAR SIR,

Warrington, May 18, 1766.

AT length I have the satisfaction of sending you the sample of Noah's Bacon, which I promised you. I am sorry that I have nothing else to send you at present; but a friend of mine, who is an excellent naturalist, has promised to be attentive to every thing that falls in his way in our part of the country, in order to send me specimens of whatever is curious. These, you may depend upon it, I shall transmit to you as they come to hand.

P. S. The gentlemen concerned in our Academy desire that I would return you their grateful acknowledgments for your very acceptable present of specimens of emeralds.

As the time of my election draws near,‡ you will not be surprised that I am a little anxious on that account.§

FROM MR. DA COSTA.

DEAR SIR,

Royal Society House, June 14, 1766.

I DEFERRED returning you thanks for your greatly esteemed letter of 18th last month, and present of the bitumen found in Lancashire, (vulgarly called there Noah's Bacon,) which I received safe, till I could have the pleasure to transmit you notice of your election into the R. S. It was on Thursday last, and I congratulate you sincerely thereon, and wish you many years' health to enjoy the honour granted you by the Society, which has, I am persuaded, acquired in you a very valuable member.

I must now acquaint you of the method of your admission and payments. The payments are made in two ways, viz. 1.

* See *supra*, pp. 41—43.

† F. R. S., and Secretary.

‡ See *supra*, p. 58.

§ Orig. MS. in Mr. Upcott's collection of *autographs*. See also Nichols's "Illustrations of Literary History," (1822,) IV. 541.

by paying five guineas admission, and signing a bond for the annual payment of £2 12s. of contributions; or, 2. by paying down twenty-five guineas, and therefore not liable to sign a bond, or pay any future contributions. In short, in lieu of contributions. The latter way is the most eligible, and most agreeable to the Society when gentlemen reside at a distance from London.

Messrs. Canton and Price (who congratulate you on your election, and the latter desired me to acquaint you he shall write to you soon) advise you to pay the twenty-five guineas, and on your payment you have all the privileges of a member, as being inserted in the list of fellows, having the Philosophical Transactions, &c.; and leave is granted and recorded for you to be admitted, and sign the Charter-book whenever your business calls you to London, even though it be many years after.

My respects attend the gentlemen of the Academy, and assure them I shall always be ready to do any thing in my power to testify my esteem for them. My compliments also attend Dr. Percival.

I beg the favour of your answer how you design to act.*

TO MR. DA COSTA.

DEAR SIR,

Warrington, June 21, 1766.

I AM obliged to you for the notice you were so kind as to send me, of the honour done me by the Royal Society, and for your advice about the most eligible method of defraying the necessary expenses. Inclosed you will find a bill of twenty-five guineas, at as early a date I can procure for ready money. Please to deliver the receipt and book of rules to Mr. Johnson, bookseller, who will wait upon you with this letter, and who will soon have an opportunity of transmitting them to me.

I am glad that the specimen of Noah's Bacon was acceptable to you. Be assured that I shall omit no opportunity of doing you any service in my power.

I am now wholly engaged in electrical experiments; and I

* *Orig. MS.* in Mr. Upcott's collection. See also Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* IV. 541, 542.

flatter myself that my inquiries will appear not to have been wholly without success; but I am much at a loss for a *tourmalin*. I am afraid I ask too great a favour when I beg you would procure me the use of one or two for a few weeks. They should be returned without any injury, and Mr. Johnson would take care of the conveyance.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.

DEAR SIR,

Warrington, January 7, 1767.

THE best books for teaching modern geography are Newberry's Geography, and then Salmon's. But Newberry is sufficient to teach; Salmon they may read at their leisure, and an account be taken of it occasionally.

I find the best method to be, appointing boys a certain number of places to be found in the maps every day, and always mentioning some circumstance that makes the place memorable. That makes them remember it, and other places are not worth troubling boys with. In my school I taught a few only, and assigned them others to teach, so that I only examined at certain times, and the whole was a diversion to us.

Newberry's little pieces are sufficient for English reading before boys can read the Spectator; or give them "The Animal World Displayed," an excellent book for young persons; Newberry's "Voyages and Travels," which will be useful in studying geography; and at leisure hours let them read Robinson Crusoe. I had a kind of school library of such books,† and there is no better exercise for young persons than after reading a story to them distinctly, to require an account of it in writing.

I think myself honoured by your asking my opinion in these little things, in which, however, I have had some experience. The fruits of it shall always be at your service, and for the future more expeditiously, if you will always excuse necessary haste, as at present.

* Nichols's *Lit. Hist* IV. 542.

† See *supra*, p. 64.

CHAPTER V.

(1767—1773.)

DR. PRIESTLEY'S Memoirs and Correspondence have discovered how he was introduced to valuable new acquaintances, or cultivated to intimacy his intercourse with former connexions, during the six years passed at Warrington. He has also narrated his various occupations in the Academy, the devotion of his leisure to the investigations of science, and the circumstances under which he determined to relinquish the engagements of a tutor, and to resume the duties of the Christian ministry. Having mentioned his removal from Warrington, in September, 1767, he thus proceeds:

(92.) At Leeds I continued six years very happy with a liberal, friendly, and harmonious congregation, to whom my services (of which I was not sparing) were very acceptable.* Here I had no unreasonable prejudices to contend with, so that I had full scope for every kind of exertion; and I can truly say that I always considered the office of a Christian minister as the most honourable of any upon earth, and in the studies proper to it I always took the greatest pleasure.†

* See their affectionate acknowledgments on Dr. Priestley's resignation, in 1772, W. XV. 10.

† Had two late historians of the Dissenters duly considered this declaration, they might, perhaps, have spared their gross misrepresentation of Dr. Priestley's language, (*supra*, p. 50,) as if, on removing to Warrington, he had then first acquired a "fondness for the studies" of a Christian minister. See M. R. VIII. 227 *n*.

(93.) In this situation I naturally resumed my application to speculative theology, which had occupied me at Needham, and which had been interrupted by the business of teaching at Nantwich and Warrington. By reading with care Dr. Lardner's Letter on the Logos, I became what is called a Socinian,*

* Very improperly, when rejecting, as unauthorized by the Christian doctrine, the adoration of "the man Christ Jesus," for which Socinus contended even to the persecution of his more consistent Unitarian brethren

He says, as translated by Dr. Toulmin, "What can be conceived more suitable or honourable to Christ, than that, residing in heaven, he rules and governs his church on earth, and ought to be continually adored by them, and with confidence invoked in all their necessities?" *Mem. of Faustus Socinus*, (1777,) p. 208. See *ibid.* pp. 81—85; W. V. 85; X. 356.

"A Letter written in the year 1730, concerning the question, whether the Logos supplied the place of a human soul in the person of Jesus Christ, Dr. Lardner published, without his name, in 1759. [*Works* (1788), XI. 83—125.] The point which he labours to prove is, that Jesus is a man appointed, anointed, beloved, honoured, and exalted by God above all other beings." Kippis's *Life of Lardner*, pp. 58, 59.

I have been greatly assisted, by the very obliging attentions of Mr. John Evans, of Gray's Inn, with the most unreserved use of a correspondence, during several years, between his grandfather, the Rev. J. Wiche, of Maidstone, and Dr. Lardner, of which I shall frequently avail myself. From the following passages, the latter appears to have been long indisposed to acknowledge the "Letter in 1730," or to discover the real name of his correspondent *Papinian*.

Mr. Wiche says, "April 2, 1762. The Letter writ 1730, so far as I have seen or heard, remains still unanswered. Are all our advocates for reputed orthodoxy, and all our stout veterans in the Arian sentiment, quite converted, or become lukewarm? I am sure I wish you, Sir, nothing but what is good. And yet I should be very glad to see the Letter attacked by the ablest and best man of the many thousands which I fear there are who cannot like it."

Dr. Lardner immediately replies, "I believe the doctrine of the Letter in 1730, gains ground in the minds of several; though others say, that thereby, and by the Case of the Demoniacs [1758. *Works*, I. 429], the author has overthrown the whole gospel system."

Mr. Wiche thus revives the subject, "Dec 28, 1763. The character given of *Papinian* led me to think at first that Lord Barrington might be the man. But after further reading in your volumes, I was rather led to think it might be Mr. Joseph Hallet, Jun. It would be some small gratification if I might know who he was, and what effect the letter to him had upon his mind."

Dr. Lardner rejoins: "It is not of much importance to know who was the author of the Letter, or who was *Papinian*. But I dare say he was not a

soon after my settlement at Leeds ; and after giving the closest attention to the subject, I have seen more and more reason to

divine, but a lay-gentleman, as the name imports. And I have reason to believe that the author was not then at all acquainted with Mr Joseph Hallet. I suppose the acquaintance with him did not commence till some while afterwards."

Yet in his last letter to Mr. Wiche, "June 9, 1768," Dr. Lardner (who died July 24th following) says, "You once made inquiries concerning the person to whom the Letter in 1730 is addressed. I shall now tell you that *Papinian* is the late Lord Viscount Barrington, with whom I had an epistolary correspondence, which was then coming to an end. That letter was one of the last. I was well acquainted with my Lord, and his brother and sister Bendish, but have no personal acquaintance with the descendants. The present Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, is supposed very unfriendly to Dissenters. There is another brother who is a lawyer, another a clergyman, now lately made Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, worth £800 a year, with a dwelling-house. I suppose he has his father's papers, consequently the letter above-mentioned." *Orig. MS.*

Lord Barrington died in 1734, aged 55. *Biog. Brit.* I. 627. The "Canon Residentiary," Shute Barrington, a posthumous child, attained to the see of Sarum, whence advancing

From better, thence again to better still,
In *clerical* progression,

he closed, a few years since, a long life, (not, however, estranged to theological pursuits and attainments, or undistinguished by worthy occupations,) as Prince Palatine, the high temporal distinction of Durham's Lord Spiritual.

Mr. Wiche, in 1784, first published, from Dr. Lardner's MS., "transcribed for the press," his Four Discourses on *Philip.* ii. 5—11, entitled, "Two Schemes of a Trinity considered, and the Divine Unity asserted." See *Life of Lardner*, lxxxv. ; *Works*, X. 600.

Before I lay aside Dr. Lardner's last letter, it will, I trust, be deemed an excusable digression, if it does not, indeed, promote my design of illustrating the age of Priestley, to quote a passage which discovers in the writer, just closing a retired and learnedly laborious life, in his 85th year, a very laudable anxiety for the public good, as involved in the progressing interests of truth and freedom ; while his estimate of "the general election" in 1768, may be read as a happy anticipation of 1831 ; *jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.*

After the expression of kind regards for his correspondent's children, who had been lately bereaved of a mother's care, Dr. Lardner says,

"Undoubtedly I am still of opinion that no general reformation will take effect ; but I own also that the Confessional has made more noise, and met with more friends, than I expected. And I believe and hope it has done a great deal of good, and will do more. The general election, though there have been some instances of 'base' bribery and corruption, has let us know the tem-

be satisfied with that opinion to this day, and likewise to be more impressed with the idea of its importance.

(94.) On reading Mr. Mann's Dissertation on the 'Times of the Birth and Death of Christ,* I was convinced that he was right in his opinion of our Saviour's ministry having continued little more than one year,† and on this plan I drew out a Harmony of the Gospels, the outline of which I first published in the "Theological Repository,"‡ and afterwards separately and at large, both in Greek and English,§ with notes, and an occasional paraphrase.|| In the same work I published my "Essay on the Doctrine of Atonement," improved from the tract published by Dr. Lardner, and also my animadversions on the reasoning of the Apostle Paul.¶

(95.) The plan of this "Repository" occurred to me on seeing some notes that Mr. Turner, of Wakefield,** had drawn up on several passages of scripture, which I was concerned to think should be lost.†† He very much approved of my propo-

pers of men, and assured us of a spirit of liberty reigning in the lower rank of men, and also in many of middle rank. I dare not say much to the advantage of other ranks: and some proceedings may make us apprehensive that it is the design of some of the administration to discourage and suppress the zeal for liberty. But we have seen unquestioned proofs of that temper, of which we could never have been so well assured by conjectures, and speculations, and calculations." *Orig. MS.*

* "Of the True Year of the Birth and Death of Christ, two Chronological Dissertations, 1733." Mr. Nicholas Mann, chosen Master of the Charter House, in 1737, died 1753. See Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* II. 165, 166, in W. XX. 16 n.

† See "True Year," pp. 147—165, in W. XX. 504—508. For Burman's much earlier opinion, "that Jesus could live but a year and a half after his baptism," see *ibid.* 48 n.

‡ In 1770 (II. 38—41). See W. XX. 502—504.

§ In 1776 and 1780.

|| See "The Harmony of the Four Evangelists," W. XIII. 7—386.

¶ See *supra*, pp. 36—38.

** Where Mr. Turner died, in 1794, aged 79, a very few months after his friend's emigration, having obtained "a release from the infirmities of old age, strikingly correspondent with the gentle serenity and peaceableness of his life." Such is the testimony of one who still survives, gratefully to cherish a father's memory, and well to emulate his fair example. See W. XXI. 450 n.

†† See W. VII. 520 n.

sal of an occasional publication, for the purpose of preserving such original observations as could otherwise probably never see the light. Of this work I published three volumes while I was at Leeds, and he never failed to give me an article for every number of which they were composed.*

(96.) Giving particular attention to the duties of my office, I wrote several tracts for the use of my congregation, as two Catechisms,† an “Address to Masters of Families” on the subject of Family Prayer,‡ a Discourse on the Lord’s Supper,§ and on “Church Discipline,”|| and “Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion.”¶ Here I formed three classes of

* See W. VII. 527. Mr. T. Hollis, writing to Mr. Lindsey, “Oct. 11, 1768,” having mentioned a visit to Dr. Fleming, adds,

“He has been informed that a periodical publication, of the magazine kind, titled ‘The Theological Repository,’ schemed by Dr. Priestley, is soon to make its appearance.” *Orig.* MS.

† *Ed.* 1, 1768. See W. XXI. 559, 573.

‡ *Ed.* 1, 1769. See *ibid.* 449.

§ *Ed.* 1, 1768. See *ibid.* 249.

|| See W. XXI. 374. Mr. Lindsey thus writes from “Catterick, Nov. 10, 1770,” to Mr. Turner, Wakefield:

“Your letter announced to me our friend Dr. Priestley’s piece on church discipline, which I have since received from him, and like many things in it; but, as I have told him, there are others that might have been either left out or altered for the better. I do not, at present, think it will become the subject of much controversy, as real practical religion, to which his plan of discipline leads, is not much an object at present, and I suppose the greater part will not be forward to attack an author who has already shewn himself so ready and so able to give an answer when called upon.

“But, however called out, I hope he will not be prevailed on wholly to cashier the religious observance of one day in seven. Its observance is low enough already in the nation. Others wish it were more attended to. I must own I never met with any parish or family that had any real religion, where this day was spent as other days, the attendance on public worship excepted. As to the morality of such an observance, all must allow that much may be said for it, if much may be said in disproof of it, from the Bible.” *Orig.* MS.

Mr. Lindsey probably refers to a passage in the “Preliminary Discourse” (W. XXI. 382) on “the influence of a rigorous and pharisaical observance of the Lord’s-day.” See “The Observance of the Lord’s-Day Vindicated,” W. XX. 330—351.

¶ See *supra*, p. 27; W. II. 1; Letter to Mr. Toulmin, *infra*, “Nov. 6, 1771.”

catechumens,* and took great pleasure in instructing them in the principles of religion. In this respect I hope my example has been of use in other congregations.

(97.) The first of my controversial treatises was written here in reply to some angry remarks on my Discourse on “the Lord’s Supper,” by Mr. Venn,† a clergyman in the neighbourhood. I also wrote Remarks on Dr. Balguy’s Sermon on Church Authority,‡ and on some paragraphs in Judge Blackstone’s “Commentaries on the Laws of England,”§ relating to the Dissenters.¶ To the two former no reply was made; but to the last the Judge replied in a small pamphlet;¶ on which I addressed a letter to him in the “St. James’s Chronicle.”**

* Consisting of “children, young persons more advanced in years,” and “young men from 16 to about 30.” See W. XV. 20, 21. At Birmingham there was added “a separate class of the young women.” See W. II. xxxii.

† “Vicar of Huddersfield, and Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan.” This treatise, published in 1769, was entitled, “Considerations on Differences of Opinion among Christians, with a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Venn, in Answer to his Full and Free Examination.” See W. XXI. 302—353.

The “Considerations” were annexed by the author, in 1790, to his “Letters to the Rev. Mr. Burn.” See W. XIX. 344; XXI. 302, *note* *.

‡ “Considerations on Church Authority, occasioned by Dr. Balguy’s Sermon on that Subject, preached at Lambeth Chapel, and published by order of the Archbishop, 1769.” Mr. Thomas Hollis thus writes to Mr. Lindsey, “May 16, 1769. Dr. Balguy’s publication was one of many evidences of the times, and that we are at least under a Tory administration.” *Orig.* MS.

These “Considerations” were comprehended, in 1771, in the “Essay on the First Principles of Government.” See W. XXII. 3.

§ First published at Oxford, in 1769, when the author, who afterwards became one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, was “Solicitor-General to her Majesty.” See *Catalogue* annexed to “Biog. Hist. of Sir W. Blackstone,” p. 127.

¶ In Book iv. See W. XXII. 302—328.

¶ Dated “Wallingford, Sept. 2, 1769.” See W. XXII. 328, *note* *.

** Dated “Leeds, Oct. 2, 1769.” See W. XXII. 328—334. On this publication Mr. T. Hollis (“Oct. 26, 1769”) thus writes to Mr. Lindsey:

“There is rather too much submission for the honour of having been noticed, in this letter. But, as the cause, it is apprehended, is with the writer of it, it is pity that he had not thrown himself out, rather by way of pamphlet, though but a sixpenny one, like his jaco-proud adversary, than in a newspaper, and by that means preserved his whole controversy entire in one, the proper shape for posterity.” *Orig.* MS.

This controversy led me to print another pamphlet, entitled, "A View of the Principles and Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters, with respect to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of England."* With the encouragement of Dr. Price and Dr. Kippis, I also wrote an "Address to Protestant Dissenters as such, by a Dissenter,"† but without my name. Several of these pamphlets having been animadverted upon by an anonymous acquaintance,‡ who thought I had laid too much stress on the principles of the Dissenters, I wrote a defence of my conduct in Letters addressed to him.§

(98.) The Methodists being very numerous in Leeds, and many of the lower sort of my own hearers listening to them, I wrote "An Appeal to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity,"|| "An Illustration of Certain Passages of Scripture,"¶ and republished the Trial of Elwall,** all in the cheapest manner possible. Those small tracts had a great effect in establishing my hearers in liberal principles of religion, and in a short time had a far more extensive influence than I could have imagined.†† By this time [1787] more than thirty thousand copies of the Appeal have been dispersed.‡‡

(99.) Besides these theoretical and controversial pieces, I wrote, while I was at Leeds, my "Essay on the First Principles of Government," mentioned before,§§ my English Grammar enlarged,||| "Familiar Introduction to the Study of Elec-

* *Ed.* 2, 1769. See W. XXII. 335.

† 1769. *Ed.* 2, 1771. See W. XXII. 247.

‡ Dr. Enfield, in "Remarks on several late Publications relative to the Dissenters, in a Letter to Dr. Priestley."

§ "Letters to the Author of 'Remarks,' &c. By a Dissenter, 1770." These Letters produced a short answer from the author of the Remarks, immediately followed by a rejoinder from Dr. Priestley. See W. XXII. 399, 440, *note* §, 533.

|| In 1770. See W. II. 381.

¶ See W. II. 430.

** "The Triumph of Truth; being an Account of the Trial of Mr. Elwall for Heresy and Blasphemy, at Stafford Assizes, 1726." W. II. 417. See M. R. XII. 386; XVII. 73.

†† See W. VII. 506 *note*.

‡‡ See W. XXI. 5 *note*.

§§ *Supra*, p. 52.

||| With "notes and observations," annexed to the Grammar in 1768. See *supra*, pp. 45, 64.

tricity,"* a Treatise on Perspective,† and my Chart of History,‡ and also some anonymous pieces, in favour of civil liberty, during the persecution of Mr. Wilkes, the principal of which was an Address to Dissenters on the subject of the difference with America,§ which I wrote at the request of Dr. Franklin and Dr. Fothergil.||

(100.) But nothing of a nature foreign to the duties of my profession engaged my attention while I was at Leeds so much as the prosecution of my experiments relating to *electricity*, and especially the doctrine of *air*.¶ The last I was led into in consequence of inhabiting a house adjoining to a public brewery, where I at first amused myself with making experiments on the fixed air which I found ready made in the process of fermentation.** When I removed from that house I was under the necessity of making the fixed air for myself; and one experiment leading to another, as I have distinctly and faithfully noted in my various publications on the subject,

* 1768. There was a fifth edition, with considerable additions. See *supra*, p. 56; preface, W. XXV. 355.

† "A Familiar Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Perspective, with Copper-plates, 1770." *Ed.* 2, 1780. See preface, W. XXV. 356.

‡ See *supra*, p. 55.

§ "An Address to Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, on the approaching Election of Members to Parliament, with respect to the State of Public Liberty in general, and of American Affairs in particular, 1774." See W. XXII. 483; XXV. 392.

Another of these anonymous publications was, "The Present State of Liberty in Great Britain and her Colonies. By an Englishman. 1769." See W. XXII. 380.

|| Who also patronized his scientific pursuits. See W. XIX. 360. Of this eminent physician, (who died in 1780, aged 68,) "Dr. Priestley" is named among the "familiar correspondents." See Dr. Letsome's "Memoirs of John Fothergill, M. D., &c.," (1786,) p. 63.

¶ Dr. Priestley's early attention to this subject on his removal from Warrington, appears in the following passage of a letter to Dr. Price:

"Leeds, Jan. 16, 1768. My experiments on air I find will run out to a great length. Several new circumstances have occurred which I cannot yet ascertain, and some of the operations require several weeks before they are completed. The late frost broke me four or five jars, in which I had several processes, which had been going on above a month. I shall not renew them till I return from London." *Orig.* MS.

** See *infra* to Dr. Price, "Oct. 19, 1771."

I by degrees contrived a convenient apparatus for the purpose, but of the cheapest kind.

(101.) When I began these experiments, I knew very little of *chemistry*, and had in a manner no idea on the subject before I attended a course of chemical lectures, delivered in the academy at Warrington, by Dr. Turner, of Liverpool.* But I have often thought that upon the whole this circumstance was no disadvantage to me; as in this situation I was led to devise an apparatus, and processes of my own, adapted to my peculiar views. Whereas, if I had been previously accustomed to the usual chemical processes, I should not have so easily thought of any other; and without new modes of operation I should hardly have discovered any thing materially new.†

(102.) My first publication on the subject of air was in

* “Dr. Turner was a physician at Liverpool: among his friends a professed Atheist. It was Dr. Turner who wrote the reply to Dr. Priestley’s Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, under the feigned name of Hammon. (See 118.) He was in his day a good practical chemist. I believe it was Dr. Turner who first invented, or at least brought to tolerable perfection, the art of copying prints upon glass, by striking off impressions with a coloured solution of silver, and fixing them on the glass by baking on an iron plate in a heat sufficient to incorporate the solution with the glass. Some of them are very neatly performed, producing transparent copies in a bright yellow upon the clear glass.

“Dr. Turner was not merely a whig, but a republican. In a friendly debating society at Liverpool, about the close of the American war, he observed, in reply to a speaker who had been descanting on the honour Great Britain had gained during the reign of his present Majesty, that it was true we had lost the *terra firma* of the thirteen colonies in America, but we ought to be satisfied with having gained in return, by the generalship of Dr. Herschel, a *terra incognita* of much greater extent *in nubibus*” T. C. *Mem.* Svo. p. 61.

† “This necessary attention to economy also aided the simplicity of his apparatus, and was the means in some degree of improving it in this important respect. This plainness of his apparatus rendered his experiments easy to be repeated, and gave them accuracy. In this respect he was like his great contemporary, Scheele, whose discoveries were made by means easy to be procured, and at small expense. The French chemists have adopted a practice quite the reverse.” *Ibid.*

“In enumerating the higher merits of Dr. Priestley as a discoverer,” says Mr. Brande, “we must not forget the minor advantages which his ingenuity bestowed upon experimental chemistry. He supplied the laboratory with many new and useful articles of apparatus, and the improved methods of

1772.* It was a small pamphlet on the method of impregnating water with fixed air; which being immediately translated into French, excited a great degree of attention to the subject,† and this was much increased by the publication of my first paper of experiments, in a large article of the “Philosophical Transactions,” the year following,‡ for which I received the gold medal of the Society.§ My method of impregnating water with fixed air, was considered at a meeting of the College of Physicians, before whom I made the experiments, and by them it was recommended to the Lords of the Admiralty, (by whom they had been summoned for the purpose,) as likely to be of use in the sea scurvy.||

(103.) The only person in Leeds who gave much attention to my experiments was Mr. Hey, a surgeon. He was a zealous Methodist, and wrote answers to some of my theological tracts; but we always conversed with the greatest freedom on philosophical subjects, without mentioning any thing relating to theology. When I left Leeds, he begged of me the earthen trough in which I had made all my experiments on air while I was there. It was such an one as is there commonly used for washing linen.

(104.) Having succeeded so well in the History of Electricity,¶ I was induced to undertake the history of all the branches of

managing, collecting, and examining gaseous fluids, were chiefly the results of his experience.” See “Estimate of Dr. Priestley’s Chemical Discoveries,” M. R. XIII. 680.

* See the dedication and preface, W. XXV. 359, 360.

† Of this translation Lavoisier, (see 189,) who was cut off among the Brisotines, in 1794, appears to have availed himself. See *Gent. Mag.*

‡ See W. XXV. 371, *n* †.

§ See *infra*, ch. vi.; W. XXV. 375 *n*.

Dr. Kippis, in 1778, on the life of Roger Bacon, having remarked that “perhaps it hath been the fault of more modern times to prescribe too narrow boundaries to science,” adds,

“Since the discoveries in electricity, and above all, since the curious and extraordinary experiments of Dr. Priestley, with regard to the different kinds and properties of air, there is an ardour for philosophical researches, diffused throughout Europe, which promises a new era in the progress of natural knowledge.” *Biog. Brit.* I. 440.

|| See W. XXV. 359.

¶ See *supra*, p. 56.

experimental philosophy; and at Leeds I gave out proposals for that purpose, and published the “History of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours.”* This work, also, I believe I executed to general satisfaction, and being an undertaking of great expense, I was under the necessity of publishing it by subscription. The sale, however, was not such as to encourage me to proceed with a work of so much labour and expense;† so that after purchasing a great number of books, to enable me to finish my undertaking, I was obliged to abandon it, and to apply wholly to original experiments.

(105.) In writing the History of Discoveries relating to Vision, I was much assisted by Mr. Michell, the discoverer of the method of making artificial magnets.‡ Living at Thornhill, not very far from Leeds, I frequently visited him, and was very happy in his society, as I also was in that of Mr. Smeaton,§ who lived still nearer to me. He made me a present of his excellent air-pump, which I constantly use to this day. Having strongly recommended his construction of this instrument,|| it is now generally used; whereas before that, hardly any had been made during the twenty years which had elapsed after the account that he had given of it in the “Philosophical Transactions.”

* “2 Vols. 4to. 1772, illustrated with a great number of Copper-plates.” See W. III. 231—233; XXV. 361—368. Dr. Beattie thus writes to Dr. Calder:

“Aberdeen, Jan. 26, 1772. You may cause one of Dr. Priestley’s books on Light and Colours to be sent to me, and I shall order Mr. Dilly to pay for it. Pray remember me to Dr. Price and Dr. Kippis. I often regret that I could not see the former, and I saw so little of the latter.” Nichols’s *Lit. Hist.* IV. 821.

† “Many of the subscriptions remained unpaid.” *Mem.* 8vo. p. 64.

‡ See W. III. 192, 231; XIX. 306.

§ John Smeaton, a celebrated civil engineer, died 1794, aged 68. He constructed the Eddystone Light-house, and Ramsgate Harbour.

|| Writing to Dr. Price, from “Leeds, Sept. 27, 1772,” Dr. Priestley says, “My air-pump, on Mr. Smeaton’s construction, is now complete with the syphon gage. I expect to derive great advantage from this instrument in many of my experiments. I wonder they are not in general use; but as far as I can learn, there are but two that are good for any thing in being, my own and Mr. Smeaton’s, both of his making.” *Orig.* MS.

(106.) I was also instrumental in reviving the use of large electrical machines, and batteries, in electricity, the generality of electrical machines being little more than play-things at the time that I began my experiments. The first very large electrical machine was made by Mr. Nairne, in consequence of a request made to me by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to get him the best machine that we could make in England. This, and another that he made for Mr. Vaughan,* were constituted on a plan of my own. But afterwards Mr. Nairne made large machines on a more simple and improved construction; and in consideration of the service which I had rendered him, he made me a present of a pretty large machine of the same kind.

(107.) The review of my History of Electricity, by Mr. Bewley,† who was acquainted with Mr. Michell, was the means of opening a correspondence between us, which was the source of much satisfaction to me as long as he lived. I instantly communicated to him an account of every new experiment that I made, and in return was favoured with his remarks upon them. All that he published of his own were articles in the "Appendices" to my volumes on air, all of which are ingenious and valuable. Always publishing in this manner, he used to call himself my *satellite*. There was a vein of pleasant wit and humour in all his correspondence, which added greatly to the value of it. His letters to me would have made several volumes, and mine to him still more. When he found himself dangerously ill, he made a point of paying me a visit before he died; and he made a journey from Norfolk to Birmingham, accompanied by Mrs. Bewley, for that purpose; and after spending about a week with me, he went to his friend, Dr. Burney, and at his house he died.

(108.) While I was at Leeds, a proposal was made to me to accompany Captain Cook in his second voyage to the South Seas.‡ As the terms were very advantageous, I consented to it, and the heads of my congregation had agreed to keep an

* See *supra*, p. 59.

† In 1767. See *Mon. Rev.* XXXVII. 93, 242, 449. "Observations and Experiments on Air, by Mr. Bewley," are described *ibid.* LIV. 430.

‡ On which he sailed, in July, 1772. *Biog. Brit.* IV. 152.

assistant to supply my place during my absence.* But Mr. Banks† informed me that I was objected to by some clergymen in the Board of Longitude, who had the direction of this business, on account of my religious principles; and presently after I heard that Dr. Forster, a person far better qualified for the purpose, had got the appointment.‡ As I had barely acquiesced in the proposal, this was no disappointment to me, and I was much better employed at home, even with respect to my philosophical pursuits. My knowledge of natural history was not sufficient for the undertaking; but at that time I should, by application, have been able to supply my deficiency, though now I am sensible I could not do it.

(109.) At Leeds I was particularly happy in my intercourse with Mr. Turner, of Wakefield,§ and occasionally with Mr. Graham, of Halifax,|| and Mr. Cappe, of York.¶ And here it

* See *infra* to Dr. Price, "Dec. 5, 1771."

† Afterwards Sir Joseph. He died in 1820, aged 76, after having been President of the Royal Society for 42 years. Mr. Banks, accompanied by Dr. Solander, had sailed with Captain Cook on his first voyage, in 1768. *Biog. Brit.* IV. 105.

‡ *Ibid.* 153, 154. Dr. Reinhold Forster died in 1798, aged 69. M. R. VIII. 288.

§ See *supra*, p. 71.

|| See 125; *supra*, p. 11. The following notice of Mr. Graham occurs in a letter from Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner:

"Catterick, June 2, 1772. What an abusive letter of the worthy Mr. Graham, of Halifax, is that of Mr. Venn, in the late London Chronicle!" *Orig. MS.* Of Mr. Venn, see *supra*, p. 73. Mr. Graham died at Halifax in 1782. See *Gent. Mag.* LHI. 357.

¶ Newcome Cappe, a pupil of Doddridge, died Dec. 24, 1800, when he had nearly completed his 67th year. His widow, well prepared to become his biographer, has described, in a Memoir, prefixed to his "Critical Remarks" in 1802, and republished in 1820, the Christian virtues which adorned his life, and the various learning which the diligent application of youth had acquired, and his manhood had devoted, with persevering industry, to a serious and critical investigation of the sacred Scriptures.

Mr. Cappe, besides the production of single discourses, which deservedly attracted public attention, was chiefly distinguished for his able advocacy of man's uninterrupted consciousness at death, without the intervention of a separate state, an opinion which he deduced from some very novel interpretations of the epistolary writings. See his "Paraphrase on 1 *Thess.*," and his "Future Life of Man," *Remarks*, II. 259, 271.

Dr. Fleming appears to have first published this opinion in 1758. (See

was that, in consequence of a visit, which, in company with Mr. Turner, I made to the Archdeacon Blackburne, at Richmond,* (with whom I had kept up a correspondence from the time that his son† was under my care at Warrington,) I first met with Mr. Lindsey, then of Catterick,‡ and a correspon-

supra, p. 37 n.) It was again maintained in "An Attempt to prove that the Resurrection takes place immediately after Death," ascribed (M. R. XIV. 533) to "a gentleman in the north of Ireland," and published in *Theol. Repos.* (1770) II. 346—395. This Essay was examined by Blackburne, in his "Historical View," (1772,) pp. 312—328. See W. II. 355 n.

Catharine Cappe survived her husband many years, which were eminently devoted to pious, benevolent, and highly useful pursuits. She was indulged, "in full age and hoary holiness," with an easy dismissal from the labours of life, July 27, 1821, having just completed her 77th year.

Mrs. Cappe, who kindly favoured me with the free use of Dr. Priestley's letters to her husband, left for publication a volume of autobiography, which has been very generally and justly admired. See M. R. XIII. 386, 510; XV. 115; XVI. 517; XVIII. 163, 238, 287, 399, 517, 519.

* Of which he was rector, and where he died, Aug. 7, 1787, "in his 83rd year, closing the long scene of a studious, regular, and religious life with the sentiment of the amiable Erasmus, and the benevolent Jortin, 'I have had enough of every thing in this world.' Without a groan, and as he sat in his chair, he literally fell asleep." See "Some Account of the Author," prefixed to the Archdeacon's *Works*, (1804,) I. 67; *Univer. Theol. Mag.* (1805) III., IV., *indexes*; M. R. VIII. 19, 23; XXI. 155.

Mr. Belsham places this visit "early in the summer of 1769." *Mem. of Lindsey*, I. 34. See W. V. 3; XXI. 450.

† Francis, who died in 1816, "vicar of Brignal, near Greta Bridge, Yorkshire." He had edited his father's *Works*, in 7 vols. 8vo.

‡ To which he had been collated in 1763, on the decease of Rev. Jeremiah Harrison, father of Mrs. Cappe. That vicarage he resigned in November, 1773,

trusting all his wealth

With God, who called him, in a land unknown.

Dr. Markham, then Bishop of Chester, had "received the intelligence of Mr. Lindsey's intended resignation with much regret, and endeavoured, by every argument and motive which zeal and friendship could suggest, to retain in the church so bright an ornament to the established priesthood. But his efforts were unavailing;" and "he frankly and honourably acknowledged that he had lost the most exemplary parochial minister in his diocese." *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 16, 87, 88, 500—504.

Theophilus Lindsey, whom any church might have been solicitous to retain in her communion, died Nov. 3, 1808, aged 85. See *ibid.* 473, 474; M. R. III. 617, 637, 691; IV. 1, 46, 683; XIII. 157; XX. 538.

It was during the latter years of Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey's exemplary lives

dence and intimacy commenced, which has been the source of more real satisfaction to me than any other circumstance in my whole life.* He soon discovered to me that he was uneasy in his situation, and had thoughts of quitting it. At first I was not forward to encourage him in it, but rather advised him to make what alteration he thought proper in the offices of the church, and leave it to his superiors to dismiss him if they chose. But his better judgment, and greater fortitude, led him to give up all connexion with the Established Church of his own accord.†

that I had the pleasure and advantage of sharing their society. The evening hours passed in the library at Essex House, still provide some of the most agreeable recollections of former years; nor, I am persuaded, *dum memor ipse mei*, will they be easily forgotten.

* The "correspondence," which commenced very soon after this visit, was uninterrupted during the remainder of Dr. Priestley's life. His last letter to Mr. Lindsey is dated from "Northumberland, Jan. 16, 1804," just three weeks before his decease.

† Mr. Belsham, (*Mem.* pp. 13, 14,) has remarked that "the scruples excited in Mr. Lindsey's mind, from the result of his inquiries, gradually rose to such a height as to induce him, while he lived in Dorsetshire, to take some previous steps, with a design to relieve himself, by quitting his preferment in the church."

This design was the subject of a very serious and interesting correspondence with Archdeacon Blackburne, (whose original letters, by the kind communications of a very obliging friend, are in my possession,) with whom Mr. Lindsey's acquaintance had rapidly advanced to intimacy, during three years of residence at his rectory of Kirkby Whiske, in the North Riding.

"Jan. 2, 1756." The Archdeacon, after proposing to his correspondent's attention arguments to dissuade him from quitting the Church, which, if inconclusive, were all of an unworldly and most serious complexion, says, "I would not put down my name any more to the articles for any thing the world has to give me." Then, as an apology for retaining his station, (in which he lived and laboured, for a very moderate pecuniary recompense, during the succeeding 30 years,) though, it may be thought, rather recommending the voluntary engagements of a Nonconformist Christian minister, he immediately adds,

"But when I subscribed, I did *more*. I gave myself to the ministry by a personal stipulation with God. The latter I *must* fulfil with all my heart and soul, whatever befall me. The other I *would* fulfil, as far as is consistent with the greater obligation of the two; and farther I must not. The Church may disown me, or I may leave her, but I must never disown the gospel, nor leave that, as long as there is a barn or a common, and a people who will come to hear me. You will say this is extravagant, and bordering upon

(110.) This took place about the time of my leaving Leeds, and it was not until long after this that I was apprized of all the difficulties he had to struggle with before he could accomplish his purpose. But the opposition made to it by his nearest friends,* and those who might have been expected to

enthusiasm. Very well. Is it not better, then, if the work *must* be done, that it should be done in a church, if by any means it may *there* be done? Considerations of this kind have kept me in the Church, my dear friend, full as much against the grain, (which nobody knows better than you,) as you are kept in at this instant.

"State the whole case over again to yourself upon paper. I desire you only to insert this single particular, 'Did I not give myself to God, when I first took orders, to be a faithful dispenser of his word to my life's end?' This I am sure you did, if ever man did. And, my dear friend, if you cannot answer this in the negative, let it have its weight against those considerations which disquiet you, in my humble opinion, *plus æquo*."

The curiosity is unavoidable, though, with me, unavailing, to read Mr. Lindsey's reply, after a restatement of "the whole case." It quickly produced the following rejoinder:

"Jan. 6, 1756. You may be very certain that my affection for a friend of your sort is not of the ordinary stamp, and will, for that reason, be sometimes unreasonably troublesome. In our late debates, (taking things from the beginning,) we have insensibly changed sides, and have still, I think, no room to charge each other with inconsistency. I see you will certainly go out: and how can I stay in after you, when I have used so many arguments which will ever be ringing in my ears? 'Thou that teachest others, teachest thou not thyself?'" *Orig. MSS.*

Mr. Belsham (*Mem.* pp. 16, 17) has fully stated the considerations, by which, seven years later, Mr. Lindsey could "reconcile his ingenuous mind" to a "renewed subscription," till at length he effectually listened to the warning and overpowering voice: "Come out of her, and be ye separate." The Archdeacon, as I have remarked, determined to "stay in," till he "came to his grave in a full age;" yet having eminently "served his generation," and "coveted no *church's* silver or gold;" and "who art thou that judgest another man's servant?"

* Among these Archdeacon Blackburne distinguished himself. He was, I apprehend, the *one* designed by Mr. Lindsey, when, writing to Mr. Turner from "Catterick, June 13, 1773," he says,

"The great concern you inquire of, being not to take place till Martinmas, [Nov. 11,] must, for most important reasons, remain in embryo till that time; and can, on no account, be disclosed to any person, and especially to *one* whom you inquire about, till near that time, of the expediency of which I could entirely satisfy you, were I with you for half an hour, and may do it some time or other hereafter. You will not, therefore, blame me if I take no note of our present correspondence." *Orig. MS.*

Again, "Sept. 17, 1773," Mr. Lindsey having mentioned the "great affliction

approve of the step that he took, and to have endeavoured to make it easy to him, was one of the greatest. Notwithstanding this he left Catterick,* where he had lived in affluence,† idolized by his parish,‡ and went to London without any certain prospect,§ where he lived in two rooms, on a ground floor,|| until by the assistance of his friends he was able to pay

tion on the side of a loving mother, and a justly beloved daughter,” and their pious resignation and “trust in Providence,” adds,

“I cannot say the matter is so kindly taken by others. But such things are to be expected. And they may be of service to prepare for coldness, neglect, misrepresentation, and unkindness from the world, and to lead to depend only on Him who never faileth those who in well-doing put their trust in him.” *Orig. MS.*

* Dec. 8, 1773. See “Memoirs of Mrs. Cappe,” (1823,) p. 165; *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 88. On his journey Mr. Lindsey thus writes to Mr. Turner, from Dr. Disney’s parsonage :

“Swinderby, Dec. 19, 1773. Since I came here I have been transcribing Dr. Clarke’s emendations of the liturgy, with a design to publish them very soon, as an indication of the kind of plan I wish to follow. Whatever becomes of my scheme, this may be of use. But this has never yet been mentioned to any one, and I beg it may remain with you alone.” *Orig. MS.*

† Yet abounding, according to a near and intelligent neighbour, “in acts of noble benevolence.” *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 85, 86. That moderate self-indulgence practised at Catterick, and which provided for an extensive, yet wisely-directed beneficence, Mrs. Cappe describes from her visits in 1765, &c. See her *Memoirs*, pp. 111, 112.

‡ A hearer of his farewell discourse says, “The whole congregation was dissolved in tears. Even children caught the infection; and the old men crowded about the church door when the preacher passed along, as if the peace of their few remaining years depended on a farewell benediction.” *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 84.

“On Sunday, Nov. 28, 1773,” says Mrs. Cappe, (*Mem.* p. 163,) “Mr. Lindsey preached his farewell sermon, from *Acts* xx. 32. I was present at that sermon, a partaker and witness of a scene at once the most impressive and the most sorrowful.”

§ Beyond, according to Archdeacon Blackburne, “twenty pounds a year, and the interest of a very small sum of money.” *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 86.

|| In Featherstone Buildings, Holborn. “Mr. Lindsey sold the plate, brought to London, to purchase necessities for present subsistence.” He had “sent his library to York to be sold,” except “a small number of books reserved for immediate use.” *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 91, 92, 97, 98.

In connexion with these facts, how unworthy of a pious and exemplary clergyman is the following misrepresentation! It immediately follows an

for the use of the upper apartments, which the state of his health rendered necessary. In this humble situation have I passed some of the most pleasing hours of my life, when, in consequence of living with Lord Shelburne, I spent my winters in London.

(111.) On this occasion it was that my intimacy with Mr. Lindsey was much improved, and an entire concurrence in every thing that we thought to be for the interest of Christianity, gave fresh warmth to our friendship. To his society I owe much of my zeal for the doctrine of the Divine Unity, for which he made so great sacrifices, and in the defence of which he so much distinguished himself, so as to occasion a new era in the history of religion in this country.

(112.) As we became more intimate, confiding in his better taste and judgment, and also in that of Mrs. Lindsey,* a woman of the same spirit and views, and in all respects a help-meet for him,† I never chose to publish any thing of

interesting account of very liberal attentions to an eminent Unitarian seceder from the Irish establishment.

“Skelton assured me that Mr. Lindsey, who made such a parade about his honesty, was not influenced by motives as pure as Robertson’s, as the society which he established in London brought him more yearly than the vicarage he resigned.” See “The Life of the Rev. Philip Skelton. By Bundy, 1792,” in “Lives of Edward Pocock,” &c., (1816,) II. 421

Who that had the happiness of knowing Theophilus Lindsey, or have become acquainted with his character, whether they receive or reject his theological opinions, could forbear to pity, if not to despise, the presumptuous ignorance which imputes to him “a parade about his honesty”? Nor is it necessary to urge the obvious inaccuracy of alleging, as a motive for his resignation, the future formation of a society in London; a resource for subsistence and ministerial occupation, of which on quitting Catterick he could scarcely have entertained a reasonable hope.

Mrs. Cappe, (*Gen. Mag.* Nov. 1816,) has satisfactorily refuted another “very misleading representation,” by Dr. Whitaker. See her *Mem.*, pp. 425—430.

* Who died Jan. 18, 1812, aged 71. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 476, 477; *M. R.* VII. 109—118, 195; “*Mem. of Mrs. Cappe*,” p. 377.

† A ineetness thus modestly described by Mrs. Lindsey, in 1797, in a letter to Mrs. Cappe:

“My chief happiness has arisen from an union with one of the best, gentlest, and most indulgent of human beings, and being employed in doing the rough work in the important station to which he was called, and which kept

moment relating to theology without consulting him; and hardly ever ventured to insert any thing that they disapproved, being sensible that my disposition led to precipitancy, to which their coolness was a seasonable check.

(113.) At Leeds began my intercourse with Mr. Lee, of Lincoln's Inn.* He was a native of the place, and exactly one week older than myself. At that time he was particularly connected with the congregation, and, before he was married, spent his vacations with us. His friendship was a source of much greater satisfaction and advantage to me after I came to reside in London, and especially at the time of my leaving Lord Shelburne, when my prospects wore rather a cloudy aspect.†

(114.) When I visited London, during my residence at Leeds, commenced my particular friendship for Dr. Price, to whom I had been introduced several years before, by Dr. Benson; our first interview having been at Mr. Brownsword's, at Newington, where they were members of a small literary society, in which they read various compositions. At that time Dr. Benson read a paper which afterwards made a section in his "Life of Christ." For the most amiable simplicity of character, equalled only by that of Mr. Lindsey, a truly Christian spirit, disinterested patriotism, and true candour, no man, in my opinion, ever exceeded Dr. Price. His candour will appear the more extraordinary, considering his warm attachments to the theological sentiments which he embraced in very early life. I shall ever reflect upon our friendship as a circumstance highly honourable, as it was a source of peculiar satisfaction to me.

(115.) I had two sons born to me at Leeds, Joseph and me from the world and its temptations, which ought to have made me better." M. R. VII. 116.

* See 127, 137; *supra*, p. 18 n.; W. IV. 3; XXII. 453; XXV. 393—395.

He became Solicitor-General in 1782, and died in 1793, aged 60. Mr. Lindsey refers to Mr. Lee, in 1802, as a "very able and most valuable Christian character," adding, "to whose friendship, virtues, and memory, my heart pays the most affectionate and grateful tribute." See "Conversations on the Divine Government," p. 140 n.

† See 149.

William, and though I was very happy there, I was tempted to leave it, after continuing there six years, to go into the family of the Earl of Shelburne, now the Marquis of Lansdowne;* he stipulating to give me two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, a house to live in, and a certainty for life in case of his death, or of my separation from him; whereas at Leeds my salary was only one hundred guineas per annum and a house, which was not quite sufficient for the subsistence of my family, without a possibility of making a provision for them after my death.

The following letters are all, with two exceptions, written by Dr. Priestley. They may serve to carry on the design of his Memoirs, as the subjects of correspondence will more fully describe the variety of his pursuits and the opinions he adopted, or in which serious, free, and assiduous inquiry had confirmed him, during the foregoing period of his residence at Leeds:

TO DR. PRICE.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Jan. 16, 1768.

As I had intended to have set out on my journey to London the next week, I thought I would not give you the trouble of a letter relating to any experiments; but as the weather obliges me to put it off to another week, and may oblige me to delay it still longer, I shall mention an appearance or two, that you may be thinking of them against the time that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

I think I acquainted you before, that I had observed a piece of brass, on which I had happened to take a number of explosions, to be marked with a circle, containing all the colours of the rainbow. This experiment I have lately diversified, and the result has been much more pleasing than I could have imagined; but the operations are very laborious, each experiment requiring 30 or 40 explosions of the battery. I make the fire to pass from a pointed wire upon a polished plate of metal,

* Who died in 1805. See W. XXIII. 255 *n*.

† "At Newington Green."

generally steel. After a few discharges, I perceive a circular space marked out of about half an inch, or three quarters in diameter, like a shade, the whole of which is afterwards filled with coloured rings.

The first colour is violet or purple. It then changes into all the intermediate colours, till it becomes red. As this ring expands, another comes up in its place, and in this manner I have sometimes procured three or four distinct rings. There is, however, a considerable variety in them in several respects.

Beyond the coloured rings, the steel shews a fine shade, not sensibly coloured, which is sometimes near an inch in diameter. It is very visible after eight or ten explosions. I generally place the needle perpendicular to the polished surface, and the rings are nearly circles. When I make the needles point obliquely, the circles made by the fusion is properly and exactly a circle; but the colours extend in an oblong form, as if the matter that formed them had been thrown directly from the point.

I have made a great number of other observations on these coloured rings, the account of which would fill several letters. I shall therefore refer you to my book of minutes, which I shall bring along with me and read to you.

I am obliged to Mr. Canton for his letter, and the curious experiment it contains.*

TO REV. SAMUEL MERIVALE.†

REV. SIR,

Leeds, Oct. 3, 1768.

I VERY much regret that I missed the pleasure of an interview with you at Warrington, for though a stranger to you, I was in hopes that by the means of our common friend, Mr. Aikin, I might have engaged your assistance in carrying on a periodical, or rather an occasional paper, which I shall call the Theological Repository,‡ of which he shewed you the plan. I was very happy, however, in being informed that you approved of the plan, and seemed willing to encourage it.

* *Orig. MS.*, for which, with many other letters, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. Morgan.

† “At the academy in Exeter,” where Mr. Merivale was theological tutor.

‡ See *supra*, p. 71.

Mr. Aikin mentioned to me a piece of Mr. Moyle's,* of which you have the disposal, which, I should think, would make an exceeding proper article for such a work. You will oblige me if you will transmit a copy of it to Mr. Johnson, bookseller, in Paternoster Row, London, and I would insert it in the very first number. I suppose you would draw up some preamble by way of introduction to it,† and I shall think it a great recommendation of the work.

Mr. Aikin also tells me that you could procure sufficient evidence of Dr. Watts's dying in the Socinian sentiments, with respect to the person of Christ, and that he left a piece containing those sentiments, with orders that it should be published. I think it of importance to the cause of truth, that such facts should be generally known, as thousands are influenced in their opinions by the authority of such men as Dr. Watts, and I think the Repository would be a proper place for such an anecdote.

P. S. I hope you will allow me to make use of your name in the Repository,‡ as one with whose concurrence it is undertaken, and who will probably be an occasional contributor. I also hope that your worthy colleagues in the academy§ will not think the work unworthy of their encouragement.||

* Walter Moyle, a magistrate of Cornwall, and for some time M. P., who died, 1721, aged 49. His works, in 3 vols. 8vo., (1726 and 1727,) discover liberal views of civil policy, and no small historical research.

This MS. "piece," entitled "A Discourse to prove Marcus Antoninus a Persecutor," which appeared in *Theol. Repos.* I. 77, 147, was designed by the writer as a sequel to his "Miracle of the Thundering Legion Examined." See Moyle's *Works* II. 79.

† This appears to have been left to the Editor. See W. VII. 520.

‡ See "S. Merivale," *ibid.*

§ Revds. Micajah Towgood and John Hogg. See M. R. XVI. 42. Mr. Hogg, who became a banker in Exeter, completed and published, in 1780, "Dr. Lardner's History of Heretics." See Lardner's *Works* IX. 219—222.

|| *Orig.* MS., obligingly communicated, with several letters of later date, by Mr. Merivale, of Lincoln's Inn, from the papers of his grandfather, Rev. S. Merivale; of whom some biographical notices would be very acceptable, and may, I understand, be soon expected. See *supra*, p. 24 note.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. MERIVALE, OF EXETER,
TO DR. PRIESTLEY, AT LEEDS, RELATING TO THE LATE
DR. WATTS.*

WHAT I mentioned to Mr. Aikin concerning Dr. Watts I had from Dr. Lardner, who told it me as a thing known to few, though without enjoining me secrecy; but unless you had other evidence distinct from what I can furnish, I should not think it right to have the anecdote appear in print, as both Dr. Watts's and Dr. Lardner's surviving friends might take it amiss.

Having mentioned in the course of my correspondence with the latter the difficulty of fixing my sentiments with regard to the person of Christ, though I had formerly thought the doctrine of his pre-existence sufficiently proved by Dr. Clarke, Dr. Watts, and others, he replies,

"I think Dr. Watts never was an Arian (to his honour be it spoken). When he first wrote of the Trinity, I reckoned he believed three equal divine persons;† but in the latter

* Mr. Merivale's letter I am unable to procure; if, indeed, it escaped the riots, in 1791. But I have been favoured with the "Extract," in the handwriting of Mr. Lindsey, the same which Mr. Belsham inserted, (*Mem.* pp. 219—221,) where he has omitted the passages which enjoin a concealment, now at least no longer necessary.

† "Three, whom the scripture describes as persons who have some glorious communion in one godhead." See his "Rational Defence of the Gospel," *Works* (1800), I. 181.

In his "Scale of Blessedness," a sermon delivered about 1709, the preacher describes, somewhat minutely, "the blessedness of the three glorious persons in the Trinity," confidently erecting his theory on that now generally acknowledged sandy foundation, 1 *John* v. 7, "which text" he considers "to be authentic and divine, notwithstanding all the cavils and criticisms that have endeavoured to blot it out of the Bible." *Ibid.* 148.

Hence, as if unconscious of being "wise above what is written," he ventures to "suppose that some distinctions in the Divine Being are of eternal necessity, in order to complete the blessedness of godhead; such a distinction as may admit, as a great man expresses it, of delicious society;" concluding, "we cannot but hereby have in our minds a more gustful idea of a blessed state, than we can conceive in mere eternal solitude." *Ibid.* 150.

The following passage from "Johnson's Life of Watts, with Notes, by the late Rev. S. Palmer," (*Ed.* 2, p. 91,) will shew how Dr. Watts's *ortho-*

part of his life, for several years before his death, and before he was seized with an imbecility of his faculties, he was an *Uni-*

dary on this point was estimated, some years later, by strict, unaccommodating believers in a Triune God :

“ Mr. T. Bradbury, in a letter dated 1725, charged him with making ‘ the Divinity of Christ to evaporate into a mere attribute,’ and after jeering at his professed love of truth, writes to him thus : ‘ It is pity, after you have been more than thirty years a teacher of others, you are yet to learn the first principles of the oracles of God. Was Dr. Owen’s Church to be taught another Jesus ?—that the Son and Spirit were only two powers in the Divine Nature.’ ” M. R. XVII. 491.

A letter from Dr. Watts to “ Rev. John Alexander,” father of Dr. Priestley’s early lost associate, (*supra*, p. 25,) dated “ April 18, 1727,” was published from the original *autograph*, by my friend Mr. Kentish, in 1816, (M. R. XI. 193,) who justly observes that “ its contents suggest many a reflection.” Dr. Watts says,

“ Amongst men of learning and inquiry, methinks ’tis not enough to say that *God is an infinite spirit*, which we all confess, and that *the sacred Three are one God*, which we confess also, and yet that we cannot tell whether the Sacred Three be one infinite spirit, or three infinite spirits. I would fain come something nearer to ideas. If we content ourselves with mere sounds without ideas, we may believe any thing : but if we seek after ideas, I think we must come to this determination, viz. that the great God is either one conscious mind or spirit, or he is three conscious minds or spirits. Now I have such arguments against the latter that I cannot at present assent to it.”

Again, towards the conclusion, “ Let us not always be content to keep these great points of our holy religion in a mysterious darkness, if it be possible to obtain ideas of what we believe. But if there be any scripture which declares this doctrine to be entirely unintelligible, I will then cheerfully acquiesce in the sacred determination of scripture, and submit to believe propositions without ideas.” *Ibid.* 194.

Republishing “ April 8, 1729,” his sermon, “ On the Scale of Blessedness,” to all appearance exactly as “ delivered above twenty years ago,” the preacher fairly acknowledges “ some warmer efforts of imagination than ripper years would indulge.” He adds, “ Since I have searched most studiously into this mystery of late, I have learned more of my own ignorance ; so that when I speak of these unsearchables, I abate much of my younger assurance.” He now finds “ good reason to doubt whether there can be three distinct and different principles of consciousness, and three distinct and different wills,” because “ reason and scripture join to teach that there can be but one God, and this God is a spirit. Yet he is still “ fully established in the belief of the Deity of the blessed three,” though unacquainted with “ the manner of explication.” See *Works* I. 151 *note*.

I had occasion to refer (W. II. 89) to a publication, in 1728, “ in opposition to Mr. Watts’s scheme of one divine person, and two divine powers ;” and have conjectured that he began to “ abate” of his “ younger assurance”

arian. How he came to be so I cannot certainly say, but I think it was the result of his own meditations on the Scriptures. He was very desirous to promote that opinion, and wrote a great deal upon the subject. But his papers fell into good hands,* and they did not think them fit for publication. I also saw some of them."

As there seemed some ambiguity in the word *Unitarian*, (though I knew very well in how strict a sense the Doctor generally used it,) and being aware that Dr. Watts, in his later publications, quite gave up the notion of a threefold Deity, though he contended earnestly for the pre-existence of Christ's human soul, originally possessed of powers superangelic,† (on

from his *amica collatio* with Tomkins, in 1722. It also appeared (W. XIII. 97) as the opinion of Watts, in his "Questions concerning Jesus," that "the disciples during the life of Christ had not arrived to any firm belief of his godhead," otherwise, "amongst their many doubts and queries, they would have asked him this obvious and important one, how could he be God, and his Father be God also, and yet not two Gods?" See *ibid.* V. 268.

Dr. Watts survived the date of his note, in 1729, nearly 20 years, during which he no doubt proposed to his consideration, with the seriousness it deserved, "this obvious and important" query. One result appears in the following paragraph of the "Solemn Address to the Deity," his last *published* thoughts on the interesting subject:

"Thou hast taught me, holy Father, by thy prophets, that the way of holiness in the times of the gospel, or under the kingdom of the Messiah, shall be a highway, a plain and easy path; so that the wayfaring man, or the stranger, though a fool, shall not err therein. And thou hast called the poor and the ignorant, the mean and foolish things of this world, to the knowledge of thyself and thy Son, and taught them to receive and partake of the salvation which thou hast provided. But how can such weak creatures ever take in so strange, so difficult, and so abstruse a doctrine as this; in the explication and defence whereof, multitudes of men, even men of learning and piety, have lost themselves in infinite subtleties of dispute, and endless mazes of darkness? And can this strange and perplexing notion of three real Persons going to make up one true God, be so necessary and so important a part of that Christian doctrine, which, in the Old Testament and the New, is represented as so plain and so easy, even to the meanest understandings?" *Works* VII. 477.

This "Solemn Address" Mr. Lindsey has largely quoted in *Vindiciæ Priestleyanæ*, Pt. ii. 5, 6. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 216—219.

* "Meaning Mr. Neale's"—added, I suppose, by Mr. Merivale.

† See his *Works*, V. 58, 94, 159, &c. "Dr. Watts," says Mr. Fawcett,

which, however, he is silent in his Solemn Address¹ to the Deity, printed in the quarto edition of his works,) I begged leave to be informed whether in his unpublished papers he had appeared to have given up that point. In answer to which Dr. Lardner wrote

“I question whether you have any where in print Dr. Watts’s last thoughts upon the Trinity. They were known to very few. My nephew Neale, an understanding gentleman, was intimate with Dr. Watts, and often with the family where he lived. Sometimes in an evening, when they were alone, he would talk to his friends in the family of his new thoughts concerning the person of Christ, and their great importance; and that if he should be able to recommend them to the world, it would be the most considerable thing that ever he performed. My nephew, therefore, came to me and told me of it, and that the family was greatly concerned to hear him talk so much of the importance of those sentiments. I told my nephew that Dr. Watts was in the right in saying they were important, but I was of opinion that he was unable to recommend them to the public, because he had never been used to a proper way of reasoning on such a subject. So it proved. My nephew, being executor, had the papers, and shewed me some of them. Dr. Watts had writ a good deal, but they were not fit to be published.* Dr. Watts’s last thoughts were *completely Unitarian*.”†

“maintained one Supreme God, dwelling in the human nature of Christ, which he supposes to have existed the first of all creatures.” See “Candid Reflections,” p. 10; M. R. XII. 523.

* “One cannot help regretting,” says Mr. Belsham, “that such should have been the judgment of Dr. Lardner, and such the decision of the executors with respect to the publication of Dr. Watts’s last essays upon a subject on which he had thought and written so much. How interesting and instructive would it have been to have traced the mind of this great and good man through the various steps of his progress, from the darkest shades of error to the clear light of rational and evangelical truth!” *Mem. of Lindsey*, (1812,) p. 221.

† To the same purpose Dr. Lardner, writing to Mr. Wiche from “Hoxton Square, Nov. 22, 1764,” says,

“That great and excellent man, Dr. Isaac Watts, who never was an Arian, was, in the later part of his life, an Unitarian, and would gladly have promoted that doctrine, if able. Somewhat of this, I suppose, appeared in

Thus, Sir, I have given you the whole of my evidence, but can by no means consent to have it laid before the public. *

TO MR. THOMAS HOLLIS.†

SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 1, 1768.

COMPARING a very valuable set of prints, which I received from an unknown hand, some years ago, with another set, which I was assured came from you, has convinced me that

public, insomuch that at his interment, where there was a numerous and honourable attendance, an ignorant preacher, who stood near the grave, was heard to say, ‘ And pity his works were not buried with him.’ *Orig. MS.*

In the *Monthly Review* for February, 1782, are the following remarks on the last thoughts of Watts, and the supposed management employed to conceal them :

“ That the doctor had altered his opinion with respect to some points of what is called *orthodoxy*, is undeniable. It was known to Dr. Lardner, and by him communicated to the late excellent Mr. Merivale, of Exeter, from whose mouth the writer of the present article immediately received it.

“ Dr. Watts’s papers were mutilated and published in a very imperfect manner. Some were wholly suppressed ; and it was with difficulty that Dr. Doddridge could rescue from destruction a certain curious paper respecting the Trinitarian controversy, published among his posthumous works, entitled, ‘ A Solemn Address to the Deity.’

“ The conduct of some of Dr. Watts’s friends in this affair, was so disingenuous, that it called forth very loud complaints from those who were acquainted with the secret ; and it was but a short time before Dr. Doddridge embarked for Lisbon, that he complained to Mr. Merivale of unfair conduct, both with respect to Dr. Watts and himself, to whose charge, in conjunction with the late Dr. Jennings, his papers were entrusted for publication.” *Mon. Rev.* LXVI. 170, 171.

* This determination would, of course, prevent the desired insertion in the *Theol. Repos.*

Dr. Johnson has justly remarked of Watts, that “ such he was as every Christian church would rejoice to have adopted.” Hence it would scarcely be allowed, without dispute, that his last thoughts in the maturity, though not the mental debility of age, and after the conscientious inquirer had passed too many years of his valuable life “ in mazes of darkness,” such as he has feelingly described, were undoubtedly *Unitarian*. See “ Dr. Watts no Socinian. By Samuel Palmer,” and the very able and convincing “ *Strictures*” on that pamphlet, *M. R.* VIII. 683, 715, 768.

† Sent to Mr. Lindsey by Mr. Hollis, with this sentence prefixed, “ Copy of a letter left at a certain house, by an anonymous person, Nov. 10, 1768, when the owner of it happened to be abroad.” This sentence and the letter are in the hand-writing of Mr. Hollis.

you are the person to whom I am indebted for them, and to whom my grateful acknowledgments are due.

I am a lover of the arts, and admire the execution of these performances; but I think them much more valuable on account of their subjects. They make the principal ornament of the room in which I commonly sit; they serve to remind me and my friends of those great worthies, and the cause to which they were engaged; and to them you are probably indebted for whatever you may think of value in my late Essay on Government, and the Principles of Liberty.

To the same hand I am likewise obliged for a copy of Archdeacon Blackburne's book on the Present State of Popery.* I

* "Considerations on the Present State of the Controversy between the Protestants and Papists of Great Britain and Ireland, particularly on the Question how far the latter are entitled to a Toleration upon Protestant Principles. 1768."

These "Considerations," of which Mr. Hollis was a very bountiful distributor, had formed "the substance of two discourses to the Clergy of Cleveland, in 1765 and 1766. The author says, writing in the third person, "It was about that time generally apprehended that the Papists had, since 1761, greatly increased; and Mr. B. himself, having had some instances within his own knowledge, tending to prove that such apprehensions were not altogether groundless, he thought it his duty as Archdeacon to warn the clergy of his district to be upon their guard in their several departments." See "Some Account," prefixed to Blackburne's *Works*, I. xxxiv.

The "Considerations" unexpectedly discover their author to have been a prejudiced alarmist in behalf of Protestant ascendancy, and however enlightened on other topics, as unacquainted, in this instance, with the just extent of religious liberty and human rights as any illiberal impugner of his *Confessional*; or, to censure the Archdeacon in good company, as Milton, when, in 1659, in his "Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes," he denounces "popery and idolatry" as "not to be tolerated by the magistrates." (See W. XXII. 512 *note*.) For a contrary and more correct judgment given in Milton's age, by Roger Williams, see W. X. 405 *note*.

"The Considerations were received," says the author's son and editor, "with high approbation by some very elevated and liberal prelates of our own Church," and reprinted "in Dublin, at the request of some distinguished prelates and clergy of the Church of Ireland." The author had also "a letter of compliment from the Rev. Job Orton." See "Some Account," appendix I. xcii., xciii.

To the *Considerations* there is a "Postscript, containing Remarks on a late Apology for the Catholics." The following passage from the conclusion may serve to shew that the Archdeacon, as might have been expected, was,

have exchanged several letters with the author on the subject of it; but I frankly own I do not see any danger we are in

however infected with *odium theologicum*, yet not very easily reconciled to his unworthy theory of Protestant persecution :

“ After all, though it is impossible to see what security the Papists can give to a Protestant government, yet if any means could be found which might insure the public safety against the treasonable, exterminating principles of their religion, and at the same time permit them the free and unmo-
lest exercise of their worship, they would not find an advocate more ready to plead their cause than myself.”

A Protestant moderator soon appeared in “ The Judgment of Truth ; or Common Sense and Good Nature in behalf of Irish Roman Catholics, occasioned by an Apology, and an Answer, entitled, Considerations, &c. By John Brett, D.D. Dublin, 1770.”

Dr. Brett, whom I have not found mentioned by the Archdeacon, was probably a clergyman of the Irish Establishment, though of the *Hoadleyan* school. Having said, (p. 19,) that with some “ exceptions the Papists of Ireland are as blinded and bigoted a race as ever existed,” he justly remarks, (p. 21,) that “ the reformers in *Ed. VI.* reign did not allow the same privileges to recusants which, both in the preceding and subsequent reign, in the humble style of petitioners, they had claimed for themselves ;” and asks, (p. 22,) “ how much did the new saints in Scotland fall short of the lofty pretensions of the Popish hierarchy ?”

In the “ Presbyterian Church, formed upon the plan of Calvin or Knox,” he finds that “ intolerant, inhospitable principle, the source of Rome’s greatest abominations, still in characters very legible, to be seen in the acts of their assemblies, and in the Solemn League and Covenant, that master-piece of their theological and political craft,” concluding that “ it is the spirit of dogmatizing that ought to be proscribed,” because “ the iniquity of it is the same wherever it is found.” Returning to the Established Parliamentary religion, he says, (p. 23,)

“ Doth the Church of England, confessedly the mildest and least obnoxious to censure in this respect, stand acquitted? Which hath even she uniformly adhered to, the principles of reformation, or the principles of her reformers? Is she spotless, or without blemish? What says 1 *Eliz. c. 2*? What is, or is not heresy, is to be determined by the authority of scripture, by the four first general councils, and by the parliament and convocation.

“ And why, I pray, the four first general councils, and these only? When the spirit of reforming was let loose, men who had sound heads and sound hearts would have taken a wider compass, and have searched for precedents in the councils of all mankind. But why was any such resource necessary? Were bishops in the fourth century better instructed to tell us what was, or was not, heresy, than Peter, and Paul, and James, and John? Did the Comforter who was to guide *them* into all truth, put off his coming till the bishops were met at Nice, Chalcedon, Ephesus, or Constantinople? I would

from the Papists; and I cannot think we are authorized to molest them, merely because they are disaffected to us. So long as we have no reason to apprehend that they actually hurt us, why should we introduce *unnecessary evil* into the state?*

as easily believe that the Holy Ghost came to Trent, from Rome, in a cloke bag."

On "the idolatry of Papists," Dr. Brett says, (p. 34,) "It is a matter of some nicety, as they neither admit the charge, nor is it a decided point how far it falls under the power or cognizance of the civil magistrate to punish, or to bear with it." Afterwards, as if "more was meant than meets the ear," he says,

"It is a matter wherein other Christians, as well as they, might be put to very hard shifts to defend themselves. Cases are upon record, and may be adduced, where it was objected to them all. And were a kingdom of Jews again to arise, so intolerant is the spirit of that religion to every thing that hath the sound or air of idolatry, that I doubt neither Arian nor Athanasian would be endured among them."

At "sect. iii.," (p. 53,) Dr. Brett especially turns "to the sober and respectable author of the Considerations: sorry and surprised," he adds, "to find that I cannot always follow, or go along with him, when in the general principles of Protestantism we seem perfectly to agree."

The Archdeacon, (p. 2,) had recollected with evident satisfaction "the legal provisions" against "the open attempts of Popish emissaries," while he regretted, as if horror-struck, "their more secret and insidious practices," not even "restrained by a principle of gratitude for the lenity of our civil government, in conniving at their enjoyment of their own worship, while their priests should content themselves with ministering to such only as have been born of Popish parents, and educated in that communion."

Dr. Brett replies, (having quoted the passage from the Dublin edition,) "He would have them patiently to look on, whilst we are making proselytes, without endeavouring to make any from us. But is this to be expected, in reason, from them, or to be demanded by us? If ever we come to terms, both sides must have fair play." Again, (p. 63,) "If the right of proselyting be ours, I know of nothing in gospel or reason to bar them in the exercise of the same privilege. The practice is authorized by the forms and canons of our own church, and we idly cavil at them for doing, in a Protestant country, what Protestants have done in Popish ones."

* The same wise and equitable judgment Dr. Priestley had very lately discovered in his *Essay on Government*, published this year, 1768. In the fifth section on "Religious Liberty and Toleration," he controverts, as may now especially be thought, successfully, a then too prevalent opinion, that "persecution by Protestants was nothing more than a dictate of self-preservation." Its evil influence on the Protestant cause, and the advanta-

I make no apology for differing from what are said to be your sentiments on this subject.* A lover of liberty like you,

geous position of Popery, when arguing with "the Church of England," he thus describes :

"If the Popish priests and missionaries have the success which it is pretended they have, I am almost persuaded, that the most effectual arguments they have employed for this purpose, have been drawn from the rigour of our present laws respecting the Papists. They tell the people, that, conscious of the weakness of our cause, we dare not give them full liberty to teach and exercise their religion : knowing that the excellency of it is such, that, if it were publicly exhibited, it would attract universal admiration ; and that what we are not able to silence by argument, we suppress by force.

"Besides, the traces and remains of Popery are so striking in the Book of Common Prayer, and in the whole of our ecclesiastical establishment, that the derivation of it from the Popish system cannot be concealed ; and hence it may not be difficult for an artful Papist to persuade many of the common people to quit the shadow, and have recourse to the substance ; to abandon the interests of an apostate child, and adopt that of its ancient and venerable parent."

Hence it is proposed, "not to *render evil for evil* to our old mother church;" but, "instead of using more rigour with the Papists, to allow them a full toleration ;" in which the author would scarcely fail to comprehend a capacity of sharing in the powers of government. For "the persecution of Papists," he would substitute in "the Church of England, before it be too late, a farther reformation from Popery," recommending to "the clergy more zeal in the discharge of their parochial duties," because "half the zeal which the Papists employ to make converts, would be more than sufficient to prevent any from being made." See W. XXII. 64—67.

* These sentiments sufficiently appear in the letters from Mr. Hollis to Mr. Lindsey, written during this period, the originals of which, by the kindness of a friend, are in my possession. They contain alarming representations of the rapid increase of Papists, of a criminal disposition in the government to extend their toleration, and of the consequent extreme peril of Protestants, both as to their civil and religious freedom, for "Popery and arbitrary power" were the perpetual watch-words of these Protestant alarmists.

Mr. Lindsey, though in no long time he "put away such childish things," had now the same appalling expectations, and, in concert with the Archdeacon, Dr. Fleming, and several anonymous associates, continued to communicate through the columns of the public prints, these Protestant alarms, which had so powerfully affected their own imaginations. Mr. Hollis, who chiefly resided in London, appears to have devoted his munificent purse, and his unwearied personal attentions, to retain newspapers in this service, and to promote, by various methods, their extensive circulation. These objects seem, indeed, to have constituted, too often, his undivided daily avocation. See W. XXII, 64 *note*.

In 1774, appeared, in 3 vols. 12mo., "A Collection of Letters and Essays,

must be uniformly and consistently so. Animated by the same general principles, (of equal service to us as philosophers or

in favour of Public Liberty, first published in the Newspapers, (1764—1770,) by an Amicable Band of Well-wishers to the Religious and Civil Rights of Mankind” This *Collection*, as we learn from his Editor, was published by the Archdeacon, and his ascertained signatures testify that he was a large contributor. The rest of Mr. Hollis’s ready writers are, no doubt, among the “amicable band,” and their warning *missives* augment the *Collection*; which, at the same time, contains such views of “the religious and civil rights of mankind” as may serve to invalidate their ablest arguments against the toleration of Papists, (for of Catholic emancipation they had no conception,) while time has now discredited their unreasonable apprehensions of a Papal ascendancy.

The No-Popery cry, after having too long resounded from church and state, *usque ad nauseam*, has at length subsided, so that talents and fortune may be now occupied in worthier pursuits, while those “fears of the brave, and follies of the wise,” which Dr. Priestley had escaped with almost singular felicity, can be no longer exhibited. How at this period they actuated other liberal minds, from which better things might have been expected, will appear from the following passages of a valuable correspondence already quoted.

From “Maidstone, June 2, 1768,” the Rev. J. Wiche thus writes to Dr. Lardner :

“I have not writ to the author of the Confessional since last August. I hope he holds his health and spirits. One or two late publications may persuade us, and his adversaries also, that he will not be easily subdued.

“The book, by Mr. Blackburne, relating to Popery, seems, from the little I have read of it, to be a proof of wonderful attention and diligence in the author, and may, I would hope, in some measure, befriend the Confessional. But what to say upon our restraints and penalties upon the Papists, is to me attended with some difficulties. Whether Mr. B.’s book will remove them all I cannot yet tell.

“Dr. Priestley, a generous-spirited and lively writer, pleads for the Papists having an ample toleration granted them. This, however, is more than the Papists can make any reasonable plea for in their own behalf; and, may be, Dr. P. himself would not wish such a toleration to take place, separate from a considerable reformation previously to be made in our *professed* Protestants, and Protestant establishment.” *Orig. MS.*

Dr. Lardner, in the following reply on this subject, appears to have been a more forward pupil than his correspondent, in the *alarmist* school:

“Hoxton Square, June 9, 1768. I have read Mr. Priestley, who is a fine writer, and the tract of Mr. Blackburne, relating to the Papists, which well deserves your attention, and particularly the Appendix, in which are some accounts of the popish devotions to the heart of Jesus, with which I was little acquainted before, and are truly abominable: and, I may add, they seem to me to have some resemblance with the Moravian respects for the

citizens,) though I may be sometimes thrown by them into different measures, I am, &c., &c.

TO REV. WILLIAM WARD.*

SIR,

Leeds, June 5, 1769.

I THINK myself honoured by the favourable mention you make of my Observations on English Grammar,† and I am much obliged to you for the very agreeable present of your own performance on the same subject.‡ I was in hopes that I should have been able to have perused your work before I wrote to you, and this expectation has been the reason of my not having acknowledged my obligation sooner; but a great variety of engagements have put it out of my power; so that I can only say, that from what I have seen of it, I think it elaborate and useful, and expect to find it of much service to me in the work I have promised to the public, on the subject of “The Theory of Language and Universal Grammar.”§ At present I am a good deal engaged in philosophical studies, which will for some time prevent my giving much attention to it.

I think, with you, that it is the duty of every literate Englishman to promote a thorough knowledge of the language in which he writes, and I very much admire your laudable zeal in this cause. I am really apprehensive that the genuine idiom of the English tongue is in danger of suffering by

side-hole of Jesus. Indeed, every kind of enthusiasm may be found in the Romish communion.

“I really do not see how it can be safe for us to allow a free toleration to Papists among us, considering some very bad principles which are essentials in their religion: and considering how Protestants are excluded from France, and Flanders, and Spain, and Portugal, and Italy, &c. In some of the German states, Papists and Protestants live amicably, but not in all.” *Orig. MS.* See *infra*, p. 108, note †.

* “Head Master of the Free School of Beverly, and lecturer of St. Mary’s, in that town.” He resigned the mastership in 1768, on account of declining health, and died in 1772, aged 63. Nichols’s *Lit. Hist.* III. 510.

† “Notes and Observations,” first annexed to the Grammar in 1768. See W. XXIII. 3, 46.

‡ “A Grammar of the English Language, in Two Treatises. 12mo. 1769.” *Lit. Hist.* III. 511.

§ Which was never published by the author. See W. XXIII. 121.

admired Scotch writers; and though I have been blamed for giving examples from them, I think I have given a satisfactory answer to the objection in the preface to the new and corrected edition of my Grammar.* Near as we are, I should think myself happy in our being nearer, that I might have frequent opportunities of conferring with you upon this subject.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds.‡

I DO take it amiss that you should pay the postage of your letter, though a few lines in it relate to the Theological Repository. I am sorry that *Patrobas*§ is engaged in so much

* See *ibid.* 5—7.

† “At Catterick.”

‡ Written soon after “October, 1769.” See *infra*, p. 103, note *.

§ Mr. Lindsey. (See M. R. XII. 527.) His earlier communication was “An Illustration of *John* iii. 13,” introduced by *Patrobas*, as “from a member of the Established Church.” How Mr. Lindsey interpreted the passage is well known; but the following conclusion of his article is not a little curious:

“Some years ago I was agreeably surprised to meet with this text of *John* iii. 13, explained in the manner I have given it, in an old French book, which I picked up on a stall in London. The title is,

“*Les Censures des Théologiens de Paris, par lesquelles ils avoyent faulsement condamné les Bibles imprimées par Robert Estienne, imprimeur du Roy: avec la response d'iceluy Robert Estienne. MDLII.*”

“I send you the old French of this honest and able confessor, the liveliness of which may gratify some of your readers:

“*Jehan* iii. 13. Personne n'est monté au ciel, sinon le fils de l'homme qui est descendu du ciel, lequel estoit au ciel. *Annotacion.* C'est-a-dire, Nul ne cognoit les choses celestes, fors que moy.

“*Censure.* Ceste proposition este extorquée, corrompaate le texte, et si est suspecte d'hérésie.

“*Response.* Elle n'est point extorquée ne tirée par force, mais extraicte des parolles de Christ, ou plustost elle en coule d'elle mesme. Mais ce ne est point de merveilles si ces asnes ci ne prennent goust à autres choses qu'a des expositions sophistiques et pleins d'espines.

“*Jésus Christ* traicte en ce passage-là de l'intelligence spirituelle de la foy: et pour monster qu' elle procède de luy seul, il dit que nul autre n' est monté au ciel: c' est-a-dire, que nul autre que luy a cognoissance des secrets celestes, et n'en peut porter suffisant tesmoignage. Comme aussi *S. Jehan* au 1 *ch.* xviii., Nul ne veit oneques Dieu: le Fils unique, qui est au sein du Père, luy mesme l' raconté. Je ne puis deviner quelle suspicion d' hérésie a yci chatouillé leurs oreilles.” *Theol. Repos.* I. 360—362.

business, and shall be glad to receive his Essay for the first number of the next volume.* I am much obliged to the friends of this work for their generous offer of assistance. There will be occasion for it; but, if the work ever answer, the money shall be returned.

You have probably seen my answer to Mr. Venn† before this time. Presently after I saw you,‡ Mr. Turner advised me to write immediately, if I did it at all. I have reason to think that I have done myself considerable service by it in this neighbourhood. I know nothing how it has been received by Mr. Venn, or his friends. He lately preached at Leeds, for the benefit of the Infirmary; but the whole sermon, I am told, was upon the subject of our controversy, and he again declared that he would renounce his Christianity if some opinions which he mentioned were not true.

You will not like my hasty letter to Dr. Blackstone.§ I did it by the advice of Mr. John Lee,|| who much approved of it. But, though I hope I have not made an improper return to his *outward* civility, I neither repent of my warmth in the cause, nor have I done with the subject. I have nearly finished a piece which I shall call *A View of the Principles and Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters in England, with respect to Religion and Civil Government, containing some Strictures on Dr.*

* See *infra*, p. 112.

† See *supra*, p. 73.

‡ In company with Mr. Turner, after the interview described, *supra*, p. 81. To the triumvirate may be applied Dr. Priestley's language on his intimacy with Mr. Turner: "Such friendships as these are enjoyed long after personal intercourse ceases. They are not those of the world, and will last and improve when the world shall be no more." W. XX. 509.

How this interview, otherwise so gratifying, had aggravated Mr. Lindsey's mental anxiety, as illustrating by a striking contrast his now rapidly increasing clerical perplexities, has been thus described by Mrs. Cappe:

"Happening to be at Catterick soon after their departure, the conversation frequently turned on the subject of the late visitors. Mrs. Lindsey observed, that 'they were not alone illustrious for their various and uncommon mental endowments, but to be admired also for the innocent, and even playful cheerfulness of their conversation.' 'Ah,' returned Mr. Lindsey, 'your observation is just, but they are at ease.'" *Mem. of C. Cappe*, pp. 148, 149.

§ See *supra*, p. 73.

|| See *supra*, p. 87.

Blackstone's Commentaries, and his Reply, &c.* It is the freest and boldest thing I ever wrote.

I must have your opinion and advice concerning this piece, though I send it you by the post. It cannot cost much. Perhaps the York newsman can take it. I should have written the thing sooner; but I have been engaged in finishing my Familiar Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Perspective,† which I begin to print this week.

I did not see Lord H——n.‡ As I was about to set out, I heard that he was returned to London. I shall be glad of your company another year. I have not seen "the Free Britons' Memorial." Indeed, I hardly read any political pamphlets; but I will get to see this, if I can. I thank you for your *whole* letter.

* This *View* was "written October, 1769." See Dr. Priestley's *note*, W. XXII. 355.

† See *supra*, p. 75.

‡ The late Earl of Huntingdon, whose religious opinions, his severe exposure of the Trinitarian paradox, and "the liberality and friendship" he proffered to Mr. Lindsey, are thus described by Mrs. Cappe:

"It is, I believe, well known, that, revolted, probably by the superstition and enthusiasm which mixed with the genuine piety of his otherwise excellent and exemplary mother, he had run into the opposite extreme, and had become a decided unbeliever. It is probable he considered the foreign appendages unhappily interwoven in the established creed as a part of the religion of the gospel.

"'What became of the universe,' he was wont exultingly to inquire of Mr. Lindsey, 'when its great Creator hung lifeless upon a tree in Judea?' 'I am not concerned, my lord, to answer that question, the foundation on which it rests not forming any part of my creed.' 'But the belief of it forms a part of the creed of that church in which you weekly officiate as a minister,' was the heart-piercing reply.

"To the honour, however, of Lord Huntingdon, when he heard of Mr. Lindsey's determination to quit the Church, he wrote to him a very handsome letter, saying, that how indifferent soever he might be respecting subjects of mere theology, he greatly honoured the integrity which could lead to such a sacrifice; and he offered Mr. L. to appoint him his librarian, with a handsome salary, and an apartment entirely to himself, where his time for literary pursuits should be completely at his own disposal." *Mem of C. Cappe*, pp. 161, 162.

Mr. Belsham has referred to an interesting conversation, in 1786, between his friend and the Countess of Huntingdon, on the subject of her son. *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 2 *note*.

My compliments to the Archdeacon. I must have his censure of my work,* unless, from *prudential considerations*, he think proper to decline it.

I sent you and him copies of the Answer to Mr. Venn, by Mr. Todd.†

I hope to hear from you soon.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Dec. 18, 1769.

I THINK myself very much obliged to you for the care with which you looked over my pamphlet.|| Could I have had the benefit of your remarks in time, I should probably have altered every thing you object to; but as the thing was printed, I contented myself with cancelling the leaf which contained the passage that you objected to the most. I paid the postage of that packet, because the purpose of sending was only my own advantage, and therefore you should not have paid the postage of your answer. In the passage relating to *education*, I meant only that for divines, but I wish I had been more explicit. I beg your acceptance of a copy of the pamphlet, which I have sent inclosed to Mr. Blackburne.

I have also sent you two letters from two Roman Catholics to Mr. Seddon.¶ They are the first intimations I have received of their being pleased with what I wrote. I am not acquainted with a single person of that persuasion. You may

* Whether obtained by Dr. Priestley does not appear. The Archdeacon, "Jan. 4, 1770," thus writes to the author's friend, Rev. C. Rotheram:

"I cannot think the Dissenters will be *universally* pleased with Dr. Priestley's account of their principles, not to mention that some degree of mercy seemed to be due to *us*, who have shewn our benevolence to *all* Protestant Dissenters, and have occasionally asserted their rights of conscience with the utmost freedom. But no, it seems nothing will do but absolute migration from our present stations, in agreement with our *supposed* convictions, [see W. XXII. 347, 348,] though, perhaps, it might puzzle Dr. Priestley to find us another church in which all of us would be at our ease.

"Can Dr. Priestley point out a church to which *no* objection lies? However, I believe him to be a very honest, well-meaning man, and as such value him extremely." See *Account* prefixed to Blackburne's *Works*, I. xlix., *note*.

† Bookseller, York.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ "At Catterick."

|| See *supra*, p. 103.

¶ See *supra*, p. 58.

shew the letters to the Archdeacon. He is too generous to make any unfriendly use of them. You smile at my *nostrum*, as you call my sentiments, concerning the poor Papists; and I smile at your panic concerning them. I hope we shall continue to think for ourselves; to smile at and bear with one another. We see things in very different lights. The letters must be returned.

I presume you have, at length, seen my answer to Mr. Venn, as I find the Archdeacon has got his copy. I never see the Public Ledger, or any morning paper; nor have I much curiosity to see what is said about me or my writings. I have sent to Dr. Price an answer to *Consistency*, in the London Chronicle, but I left it to him to publish or suppress it, as he thought proper.

I should not be at all surprised if some restrictions were laid on the liberty of the press; and am not sorry that I have spoken my mind so freely before that time. I think I shall turn to *philosophy* and *scripture-criticism*. I am busy making some experiments; and in my letter to the Archdeacon you will see a scheme of a theological work I am about.

I shall like to see what Dr. Law* has written on the subject of *literary property*.† Shall we, think you, receive Mr. Barker's account of *Satan*,‡ which the bishop recommended to us? I hear of a packet of papers coming from Ireland, containing pieces of Duchal,§ Abernethy, &c. I hope *Patrobas* will not disappoint me. The Repository shall live. How like you *Clemens* now you see the whole of that article?|| I believe I shall change my signature in the next volume.

* Bishop of Carlisle, who died in 1787, aged 84. See W. III. 378 †; M. R. XIII. 289—294.

† "Observations occasioned by the Contests about Literary Property, 1770." See *ibid.* 293.

‡ "I have every where supposed what is called Satan, or the devil, in the gospels, to be an allegorical personage, or the principle of evil personified." *Pref. to Eng. Harm.*, W. XX. 510.

§ D. D., successor of Abernethy, at Dublin, in 1740. He died, 1761, aged 63. *Biog. Brit.* V. 412. See *infra*.

|| "On the one Great End of the Life and Death of Christ, intended more especially to refute the commonly-received Doctrine of Atonement." *Theol. Repos* I. 17, &c. See W. VII. 203—298: *infra*, p. 112.

The Archdeacon inquires concerning the method of getting the *petition** signed at Leeds. It lay some time at the town-clerk's, who is no friend to it, and where few cared to go to inquire for it. Then some gentlemen went about with it, but used no solicitations. Had that measure been taken at first, many more names would have been got.†

TO THE SAME.‡

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Jan. 18, 1770.

I HAVE received your obliging letter, inclosing those of the Berkelys, which, I am sorry to find, have not at all disposed you to think more favourably of people of their profession in this country. But, from the nature of the human mind, when an opinion or prejudice is fixed to a certain degree, every thing we meet with that has the least relation to it, tends to confirm us in it. I allow you to apply this maxim to me as much as I do to you in this case; and, as I do not think less favourably of you on account of this difference of opinion, I hope you will not, the worse, of me for it.

I am obliged to you for your cautions; but I cannot conceive what danger I am in from people with whom I never had, nor am ever likely to have, the least connexion. I should be very sorry if the Archdeacon should think more unfavourably of the Academy at Warrington, and those who conduct it. As far as I can recollect, I was singular in my opinion concerning the toleration of Popery. Mr. Aikin, I know, was against me; and Mr. Seddon's acquaintance with Dr. Berkely is a late and casual thing. And though these two Papists seem to think so favourably of me and the academy, they are the only persons that I have yet heard of who have entertained the same sentiments concerning us.

* Perhaps against the claim of the British parliament to tax the unrepresented British colonies. (See W. XXII. 380.) It appears that the Archdeacon, about this time was attracted to "the disputes of our government with the colonists of America." *Account*, p. xxxviii.

† *Orig. MS.* Endorsed by Mr. Lindsey, "Answered Dec. 28, 1769, and promised to send Patrobas the next month."

‡ "Rector of Catterick,"

All that I know of the Papists about Leeds is, that one of them is become a hearer of mine; but I believe it was chiefly owing to his wife, who had belonged to us, and who is now dead. I never had any conversation with him; nor, to my knowledge, did I ever converse with any Papist in my life. We were brought up in a thorough abhorrence and contempt of them. But enough of this.

I think the preliminary part of the pamphlet concerning Mr. Venn,* of much more value than the rest. How he takes it, or what he will do, I am not informed. You are more acquainted with his friends.

The reviewers have taken it into their heads to censure, as “hasty and inaccurate,” the very best and most correct part of my Remarks on Balguy.† I could not alter a word for the better, but the observations he has selected are, I believe, new. I think them important, and I am sure he did not understand them. As the writer addresses himself to me in so particular a manner,‡ I had written a reply; but Dr. Price suppressed it, thinking it would demean me to take notice of any thing anonymous. My letter, I suppose, perished in the fire at Johnson’s, together with another that I had written to the person who signs *Consistency* in the London Chronicle, and which Dr. Price stopped for the same reason.

I shall be glad to see *Patrobas*§ whenever it may be convenient to him to make the journey. My *Dissertations on the Harmony* will be in the Repository, as soon as I can so far recollect my scattered thoughts and hints as to recompose them.||

* “Considerations on Differences of Opinion among Christians.” W. XXI. 302. See *supra*, p. 73.

† See *ibid.*

‡ “There are few persons of whose genius and abilities we have a higher opinion than of Dr. Priestley’s; and we believe he has too much candour and good sense to be offended with our hinting, in this public manner, what we know to be the sentiments of his best friends and warmest admirers, viz. that his productions are, in general, much too hasty and inaccurate.” *M. Rev.* (1769) XLI. 368. Such is the *schooling* to which Dr. Priestley refers.

§ See *supra*, pp. 101, 102.

|| See *Theol. Repos.* (1770) II. 38, &c.; III. 462. W. XX. 19—218, 502.

As most of the copies of the Answer to Balguy are perished,* and it will not be worth while to reprint it, I think to incorporate every thing of value in it in the Essay on Government.† Will you and the Archdeacon suggest any hints for the improvement of that piece? If you will reduce into a few distinct observations what you have to allege against the toleration of Popery, I will faithfully insert it in that piece; and I sincerely wish you would do it.‡ At least tell me, in as few words as possible, what considerations I have omitted. I mean to enlarge that part of the book.

I have about forty sets of the Repository by me, and, I believe, there are not many more in being. It cannot answer to reprint them, and I think to print *Clemens* separately, with my name.§ If the work for the future sell well, this first volume may be reprinted.||

* In Mr. Johnson's fire, with the Dissertations.

† See W. XXII. 3. On *Ed.* 1, see *Lond. Chron.* XXIII. 537; XXV. 509.

‡ Whether the wish was gratified does not appear. But it may not be unedifying, and it is certainly surprising, to observe how even such a writer as Dr. Kippis, when reviewing the Essay, in 1768, could express himself on this subject:

“Dr. Priestley pleads for a full toleration of the Papists, and this we cannot avoid regarding as the most exceptionable part of his treatise. The question whether the Papists have a right to a *full* toleration, is not to be discussed in the compass of eight small pages. It is a difficult and intricate question. The nature of Popery should particularly be inquired into; not merely as a system of absurd doctrines and worship, but as a practical and intolerant superstition; as a cruel conspiracy against all the essential privileges of mankind; as a scheme which cannot rise to a high degree of power, except upon the ruins of every thing that can render life desirable and valuable.” *M. Rev.* XXXIX. 473.

At this period Dr. Kippis was an occasional, probably a frequent, contributor to the Monthly Review. I have ascribed to him the article on the Essay, from finding that the remarks, *supra*, p. 53, evidently given, in *Biog. Brit.*, as his own, had been copied almost *verbatim* from the paragraph immediately preceding the above quotation.

It might almost excuse Dr. Kippis's unworthy hesitations and groundless alarms, in 1768, to read what another liberal, Dr. Flexman, could annex, in 1781, to his charitable exhortations, from a Christian pulpit, and thus circulate from the press, especially at such a period of Protestant rancour and destructive popular excitement. See W. XXII. 500, *note*.

§ See *infra*, p. 112.

|| There was a 2nd *Ed.* 1773.

The plates to *Chart of Biography** must be re-engraved. Have you any observation to make on it?†

TO MR. CLEMENT SHARPE.‡

SIR,

Leeds, Feb. 4, 1770.

As your letter seems to bear the marks of a sincere desire of information, and not to have been written for any captious purpose, my thoughts on the subject of baptism are at your service, or that of any of your friends to whom you may choose to communicate them.

It appears to me, that few persons in this western part of the world, enter sufficiently into the ideas and notions of the Jews and other people of the East; and that your objections to infant baptism cannot be satisfactorily answered, without laying aside some of the ideas peculiar to this part of Europe, and especially in modern times.

Nothing was, or indeed *is*, more common in the East, than to express sentiments and purposes by *actions*; and so natural was it to the Jews to denote purity of heart by outward washing, that we find by the success of John's preaching, that, though he did not pretend to teach a new religion, but only insisted upon repentance and greater regularity and strictness of manners than was common among the Jews; yet that few of them made any difficulty of being baptized, considering it nothing more than a profession of repentance and a new life, and therefore it is called the baptism of repentance. With respect to the subjects of baptism, we should consider, more than we do, the great power of a master of a family in the East, and how far his own acts affected his wife, children, and servants, and indeed every thing belonging to him: thus, though circumcision was a religious ceremony, expressive of a covenant between God and Abraham, it was applied not only to the children of Abraham, but also to all that were born in his house, or bought with money, i. e. his slaves, who were not in the least interested in the covenant. In fact, it only

* Destroyed at Mr. Johnson's.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ "Of Romsey."

concerned Isaac; Ishmael, who, however, was circumcised, had no interest in it at all. See *Gen.* xvii. 12, 23. The circumcision of Ishmael, of the children of Abraham in general, and of his slaves, was not considered as any act of theirs, but only of their master, and therefore their consent was not in the least necessary.

When the Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah, the cattle were made to fast, as expressive of the contrition of their masters.

I have no doubt but that the Jews admitted proselytes to their religion, by solemn washing or baptism as well as by circumcision; indeed, considering their ideas and practices in other respects, I should have wondered if they had not done it; and I have as little doubt but that when a master of a family embraced their religion, their children, if not their slaves also, were baptized and circumcised. This, then, being the common practice of the Jews, our Lord had no occasion to give any particular instruction as to the proper subjects of baptism. When a head of a family was converted to Christianity, he and *all his house*, i. e. his children and slaves, were baptized; not as a mark of their being Christians, but of their master being one, and of the obligation he was under to educate them in that religion, and inculcate upon them the maxims of it; this is an obligation that is peculiarly sacred, and hardly ever fails of success all over the East. There is nothing that a Mahometan is more intent upon than to make his servants good Mussulmen. When the children were grown up, or the slaves changed their service, they might adhere to the religion they had been brought up in, or not, as they pleased. Infant baptism appears to me to have been the uniform practice of Christians, as far as I can collect from the primitive fathers, till an idea was introduced of the peculiar efficacy of baptism, as such, to wash away sins, and the safety of dying soon after baptism, before a person had contracted fresh guilt. On this account Constantine the Great, and many others, deferred baptism till the hour of death. Afterwards, slaves being generally enfranchised, and considered as acting for themselves, and the power of fathers over their children

having never been so great in the northern nations, Christianity, and all the badges of it, came to be considered in all respects a personal thing; and hence the conclusion, that no persons could be the subject of any of its institutions but with their own consent, expressed when they were arrived at years of understanding.

For my own part, I endeavour to adhere to the primitive ideas, and consider the baptizing of my children as nothing more than a declaration of my being a Christian myself, and, consequently, of my obligation to educate them in the principles of the Christian religion.

I have no doubt but that the only ancient mode of baptism was immersion, and I should rather approve of it at present; but since it is the application of *water* that expresses the purity of heart and life peculiar to Christians, and not any certain quantity of it; and since the meaning of the rite is as well understood in whatever manner it be administered; and, also, since dipping is sometimes imagined at least to be dangerous for the health of children, I think a scrupulosity in this punctilio unnecessary; and therefore, in this respect, I do not think it worth while to make any alteration in the common practice. If I thought immersion the only proper baptism, I should certainly submit to it without delay. I do think that baptism was intended to be always observed in the Christian church, though I should readily admit to communion one who thought otherwise, and had not been baptized.*

I have not sufficiently considered the passage in St. Paul you mention.

I shall be glad if these few thoughts shall prove to be of any service to you; but I doubt not but you will think for yourself, and act with freedom and spirit, becoming a Christian, whatever your conceptions be. The censure of the world is not to be regarded where the least punctilio of religion is

* These reasons for "infant baptism" are very similar to those which Dr. Priestley was now preparing to publish in his *Institutes*; (See W. II. 332—335;) and they appear to have satisfied him to the close of life. See his last thoughts from "Northumberland, 1802," in "A Letter to an Antipædobaptist," his friend Dr. Toulmin, W. XX. 463—492, and *index*, "Baptism."

concerned; but let us not forget that there are things of more importance than positive institutions. Wishing you all the consolation of our most excellent religion in the decline of life, and that you and I may have a happy meeting in that world with which it brings us acquainted, I am, &c., &c.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Feb. 21, 1770.

I AM obliged to you for *Patrobas*,† but I could not find room for it in the number just printed. It is promised for the next. I like it very well; but I am afraid the quotations are too long. Perhaps it may be better only to mention Locke's opinion, and refer to his book.‡

I do not recollect how I expressed myself in writing to you,§ but I have no thoughts of republishing *Clemens* soon. It is not yet finished; and besides I shall wait till I hear what may be said by way of objection to it. In the present number you will find an article of mine signed *Liberius*.|| It is the recomposition of the piece that was consumed at Mr. Johnson's. The subject will extend to two numbers more. There is nothing of Mr. Turner's in this number, but he has some very good matter that will come in this volume.¶

Your account of what is said of the *View of the Dissenters*** puts me in mind of the old man, his son, and the ass; the moral of which fable I have pretty well learned. Even the same

* M. R. VII. 11—13, communicated by "Rev. Russell Scott," from "the original, in the possession of Mr. Sharpe's son."

† This paper, Mr. Lindsey's second communication, (see *supra*, p. 101 note §,) was entitled "Brief Remarks concerning the two Creations mentioned in the Sacred Writings; the one, real and proper, always ascribed to the one only Living and True God alone; the other, a Moral or Spiritual Creation, the Author of which is our Lord Jesus Christ." *Theol. Repos.* (1770) II. 85.

‡ Yet "the quotations" were given, being "the whole of Mr. Locke's note" on "*Ephes.* iii 9." See *ibid.* 94—97.

§ *Supra*, p. 108.

|| On "Mr. Mann's Hypothesis concerning the Duration of Christ's Ministry." *Theol. Repos.* II. 38—59. See 128, *supra*, p. 71.

¶ See *Theol. Repos.* II., *Eusebius* and *Vigilius*.

** See *supra*, p. 74.

person sees things in very different lights at different times. For my own part I can see no more reason to repent writing that piece than any thing else that I have done; and if I republish any of my pamphlets, that will be one of them. Every paragraph was considered and approved by my excellent and cool-judging friends at Warrington; and my friends among the Dissenters like it far better than most of my other pieces. I am far, however, from thinking it has no fault; and if I reprint it,* I hope to improve it a good deal, but not so as to satisfy those who are much dissatisfied with it in its present state.

I have a few sets of the first volume of the Repository to accommodate particular persons. I hardly expect it will ever be reprinted.†

Dr. Price acquainted me, some time ago, that Dr. Furneaux's letters to Dr. Blackstone‡ will be "well weighed, and well composed, as well as genteel."

I am just informed that there is in the press a pamphlet entitled, "Remarks on several late Publications relative to the Dissenters," particularly addressed to me, by a Dissenter; and that the author gives a short review of my pamphlets, and among the rest of the "Address to Protestant Dissenters, as such." The name of the author, I am told, is a great secret.§

I have of late been very busy, and pretty successful in my philosophical pursuits. I have sent to the Royal Society a memoir, as long as a pamphlet, containing an investigation of a new and curious appearance in electricity.|| I have also materials for another on charcoal, on which I have made many new experiments, electrical and chemical;¶ and I am now taking up some of Dr. Hales's inquiries concerning air.

I find, by a letter of the archdeacon's to Mr. Turner, that

* There was a second edition.

† Yet see *supra*, p. 108.

‡ 1771. See W. XXII. 332, 362, *notes*.

§ See *supra*, p. 74.

|| "An Investigation of the Lateral Explosion, and of the Electricity communicated to the Electrical Circuit in a Discharge. Read March 29, 1770." *Phil. Trans.* LX. 192. See *Mon. Rev.* XLII. 420.

¶ "Experiments and Observations on Charcoal. Read April 5, 1770." *Phil. Trans.* LX. 211. See *Mon. Rev.* XLVI. 426.

that excellent man has strangely mistaken my meaning, and even my writing, in my last letter to him. In answer to his question, "to whom shall we go?" I said, "suppose it had been asked *by* Luther." He read *to* Luther, and gives a long comment upon it.

When I said that any appearance of an alliance between the Reforming clergy and the Dissenters would do the former no good, I meant it would render them more obnoxious to the superior clergy, and not, as he supposes, that on your joining with us (an event which I am far from desiring) we should demand more than would content you. And when I apologized for the freedom with which I wrote, I said no more than he had said to me to the same purpose, and which would never have suggested to me the idea of his being *jealous* of me.

I wish he may have preserved that letter, and that you would give him this explanation of it. I certainly write letters without much thinking; but I should not have thought that I could have expressed myself so very incautiously as to give a colour to such a construction. My real sentiments are the same that I expressed in that letter. If it be possible for us Dissenters to act in concert with you, I wish you would tell us how. It is a thing that I have no conception of, except as I there explained myself. Let us be content to prosecute the same general cause, though in a manner independent of one another. In the present state of Christianity I am for increasing the number of sects rather than diminishing them; but I am only one individual. There may be Dissenters who are just what the archdeacon would have them. I should be ashamed of the cause, if we all thought and acted alike.*

TO THE SAME.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds.‡

I BLAME myself for letting our correspondence sleep so long, but your last came to hand just before my journey to London, which occasioned me to neglect it; and I do not

* Orig. MS,

† "At Catterick."

‡ No date, but Mr. Lindsey has written, "answered May 30, 1770."

know how it is, but when a thing has begun to be neglected, it is a kind of reason for continuing to be so. Of late I can truly say I have been more busy in composing and transcribing than ever I was in my life. I have frequently written till I could hardly hold the pen, for writing long hand is irksome, and indeed painful to me; and after all, I do assure you, I expect neither praise nor profit for any thing I have been doing. Nay, I shall be glad if I barely come off without either; for I have been writing partly in self-defence, and partly to promote serious and practical religion in our schismatical societies.

One piece that is printing at London is a Reply to Nine Letters to me on the subject of the Lord's Supper, with some corrections and large additions to my own piece.* Another is a set of Letters to the *Dissenter*, that I mentioned to you,† and which the archdeacon has seen. That kind of an attack gave me an opportunity to say several things I wished to say, and the like may never come again.

The third piece is on the subject of Church Discipline,‡ of which we have not so much as the shadow with us; and I know I shall be severely ridiculed by many of our freethinking Dissenters for *molesting* the subject; but I am very serious, and have said a good deal about it. If I have ever been severe upon the Church of England, I have been here as much so upon ourselves, so that I expect soon to be in the case of Ishmael, “My hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against me;” but I have not his promise to be unconquered and unconquerable. I heartily wish I had done with controversy. Another piece is just printed against me here, but I shall not take any notice of it; and I have had some intimations that Mr. Venn is returning to the charge.

You will see by what I shall either inclose in this letter, or send you by Mr. Todd, with the Repository, that I am about to enter, in good earnest, into the business of Experimental Philosophy. I want a patron in this work to defray the necessary expenses, but I shall venture upon it without any. I

* See W. XXI. 293.

† See *supra*, p. 74.

‡ See *supra*, p. 72.

have friends who hinted it to the Duke of Northumbeland when I was in London. He desired to see a plan of the work, and I sent him a short one in MS., but have heard nothing from that quarter since. When I see you at Knaresborough I shall be glad to have some conversation with you on this subject. I am not fond of such connexions with the great, and if I had assistance should rather desire to receive it from several than from one. I fancy it will require me to expend 200*l.* or 300*l.* to undertake this work to advantage, and that is more than I ought to do in the present state of my affairs and family.

Mrs. Turner's father, I find, is dangerously ill in Cheshire, and I have some fears lest a journey that Mr. Turner will be obliged to make thither should interfere with the plan which the archdeacon mentions for our meeting at Knaresborough; but he will not be missing if it be possible. I have taken the liberty to desire Mr. Cappe's company. Mr. Turner is very desirous of knowing the exact time that you fix.

The Repository is full of excellent matter. It will be 1*s.* 6*d.**

TO THE SAME.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, July 30, 1770.

I THANK you for your obliging invitation to Catterick, but it will hardly be in my power to make any more journeys this summer. If I have the pleasure of seeing you, it must, I believe, be at Leeds, where you will be a very welcome guest.

I have sat down very closely to my History of Experimental Philosophy.‡ I make a point of giving six hours a day to it, which in six years I hope will do a good deal of business. I am afraid, however, of being much retarded for want of books, for I can at present only common-place the materials I have. I should be certain to lose a great part of my labour if I were to begin to compose any part of the work till I have nearly all the books that would be of any use to me relating

* *Orig.* MS.

† “At his Grace the Duke of Northumberland's at Alnwick.”

‡ See *supra*, p. 78.

to it. Notwithstanding very considerable assistance, I find I must be at very great expense myself. I have already expended about 100*l.*, and now that I am in for it, shall risk a good deal more. I have had a large hamper of books sent in from a person unknown.

Please to give my compliments to his Grace, and tell him that I think myself greatly obliged to him for his *Encyclopédie*; but as I do not find it contain any original experiments, it will be of little or no use to me, and therefore he may depend upon my returning it before winter, along with the other books I received with it. *Kircher*,* the most useful of them, I had purchased before his arrival.

My answer to Mr. Enfield† is now printed off, and I hope I have quite done with controversy. All I intend to do, along with the History, is to finish the Harmony of the Evangelists, and write small pieces for the Repository, another number of which is nearly printed.

I am sorry to hear that several friends to the Warrington Academy intend to withdraw their subscriptions, on account of Mr. Enfield's sentiments‡ expressed in his late pamphlet. I have written to those with whom I have any influence to prevent it, if possible, and hope to succeed. Mr. Aikin will be exceedingly distressed. He is alarmed at every thing.§

* On "the Discoveries of Descartes and his Cotemporaries," Dr. Priestley says,

"In this enumeration of the heroes of this period, I must not overlook the laborious and ingenious Athanasius Kircher, who was one of the greatest philosophers and ablest mathematicians of the time in which he lived. He was about the same age with Descartes, but outlived him thirty years. His large and magnificent work, entitled *Ars magna lucis et umbræ*, must have been considered as a very capital performance at the time in which it was written; and though this author neither discovered any new property of light, nor explained any capital phenomenon of nature better than it had been done before, it will be seen, in the history of this period, that the science of optics is under considerable obligations to him." *History*, pp. 99, 100.

On this very learned Jesuit, (who died, 1680, aged 79,) and his researches in other departments of valuable knowledge, see W. XXIII. pp. 499, 523.

† See *supra*, p. 74.

‡ Probably on the "fruitless course of study among Dissenters." See W. XXII. 399, note †.

§ *Orig.* MS.

TO THE SAME.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Aug. 30, 1770.

I THINK myself much obliged to you for the favourable mention, I doubt not, you made of me to the duke. I shall certainly wait upon him when I go to London, which I fancy will be the next winter; but I am by no means sanguine in my expectations from him, or indeed from any other quarter.

I shall be a loser by the Repository this year; but I am encouraged to expect that some friends of the design will advance something towards defraying the expenses attending it, till the sale shall repay me. If ever it do, I shall return whatever shall be advanced. I have not the least doubt of its being carried on with spirit, and that I shall be supplied with very valuable materials, for a considerable time to come. I have by me the quantity of half a volume. Mr. Cappe has perused the MS. on the Intermediate State, and joins the archdeacon in requesting that it may be all printed, except a few pages, which, he says, are not much to the purpose.†

By this time you will have seen my Letters to Mr. Enfield.‡ I do not know how they are received by him, but as I have not heard from him, I am afraid he doth not take it so well as I hoped he would have done.§ My piece will give more offence to a very considerable part of those who are called rational Dissenters than you can imagine. By one means or another, I believe I have more enemies among the Dissenters than in the Church. I shall soon be obliged to court the Papists and Quakers in order to have any friends at all, except a few philosophical people, who, like his Grace, know nothing of my having meddled with theology or politics.

I think to reprint the “Address to Protestant Dissenters, as such,” with additions;|| and this, with the piece on Discipline,¶ will conclude all that I think of doing in that way.

* “At Catterick.”

† This article appeared in *Theol. Repos.* II. 346—395. See *supra*, p. 81.

‡ See *supra*, p. 74. § See *infra*, p. 123. || See *supra*, p. 74.

¶ See *supra*, p. 72.

I shall soon read Beattie.* Dr. Leechman gave me a good account of it some time ago.

It would give Mr. Turner and me great pleasure to see you with us; but indeed we cannot make another journey northwards this summer.†

TO MR. CLEMENT SHARP.‡

SIR,

Leeds, Sep. 12, 1770.

I RECEIVED yours of the 29th of May only a few days ago. It was not found in the pack of wool till the manufacturer had occasion to make use of it. Being very busy myself, I sent your queries to an ingenious friend of mine, who signs *Vigilius* in the Repository, and I enclose you his answer,§ which I much approve, in his own hand-writing. I wish it may give you the satisfaction you want; but, in this imperfect state, we are not to expect a perfect solution of all our doubts and difficulties. We must be content with as much light as is sufficient to guide our conduct, and, in lesser things, we must often be determined by probabilities only, certainty not being to be had.

I am sorry for the loss you have sustained, but it is happy that you do not grieve as one without hope.

* “In May 1770, Dr. Beattie’s ‘Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism,’ made its appearance. As the manuscript had been seen by many eminent men of learning, and as the ‘Essay on Truth’ was known to be written as a direct attack on the philosophical principles of Mr. Hume, its publication had been looked for with considerable expectation. The boldness, too, of a writer so little known to the world as Beattie was at this time, in attacking an author so formidable as Mr. Hume, contributed not a little to excite the public curiosity.” See Sir W. Forbes’s “Life of Beattie,” (1824,) p. 90, *infra*, p. 126.

An anonymous critic has lately remarked, that the Essay on Truth, “though it produced a great sensation when it appeared, and was hailed as a complete antidote to the sceptical poison of Hume, is now acknowledged to be a somewhat shallow work. The author did not appreciate either the depth or the subtlety of the arguments he controverted, and eked out his superficial answer with a good deal of clamorous invective.” Blackwood’s *Ed. Mag.*, (1830,) XXVII. 476. See 123.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 109, 112, note *.

§ See M. R. VII. pp. 14, 15.

P. S. I would recommend to your perusal a pamphlet entitled, “Dipping not the only or Scriptural Method of Baptizing.”*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 1, 1770.

I AM exceedingly glad that you like the scheme and conduct of the Repository so well. I do assure you that your approbation of it is one of the greatest encouragements I have to continue it; but I really hope it doth good, and so long as that is the case it shall not die, if there be a possibility of keeping it alive. I think Dr. Duchal’s piece‡ a very good article, and am much shocked that our good friend, the Archdeacon, in a letter I received along with yours, should question his belief of the Christian revelation.§ He has much more reason to question *my* belief of Christianity, and yet I think I love and value it as much as those who are more orthodox than himself; nay, I am sure that *I feel more as a Christian*, since I have thought with so much freedom, than before.

Since I wrote the Essays on the Harmony I have met with a much larger edition of Mr. Mamm’s Dissertations,|| in Latin, with additional arguments, &c., of which I intend to give an account in a supplement to what I have written. I do not lay any stress (as any person may see) on several of the transpositions I have proposed, though I think some of them very probable, and I am clearly of opinion that Christianity will be a gainer by such freedoms as I have taken with the Evangelists. I shall take much greater liberties with the apostolical epistles,

* M. R. VII. pp. 13, 14.

† “At Catterick.”

‡ “On the Obligation of Truth, as concerned in Subscriptions to Articles of Religion,” a Dissertation “supposed to have been written many years ago, when the controversy on subscription, both in England and Ireland, was warmly on foot.” *Theol. Repos.* (1770) II. 191. See *supra*, p. 105. On Dr. Duchal’s character and literary accomplishments, see *Mon. Rev.* XXXI. 278, &c.

§ I have not observed in this article any thing to justify the injurious suspicion.

|| See W. XX. 15—17, &c., 504, 513; XXII. 548.

as you will soon see, in the character of *Paulinus*, under which signature I intend to publish a great number of free and original remarks.

I shall open the next volume of the Repository with a new presumptive argument for the truth of revelation, under the signature of *Clemens*.* I hope you will not dislike it. I have not now time to finish what I proposed with respect to the former article of *Clemens*.† I have indeed nearly completed my collection of the Fathers, but I have not time to read them, either for that or any other purpose.

I am pretty hard at work on a volume of my History of Experimental Philosophy,‡ and hope to have a quarto, about as large as my History of Electricity, finished some time the next spring. You flatter me with respect to my “talent of making dark things perspicuous;” but if I have not got some skill of that kind, I have taught school and given lectures many years to little purpose. Theology, notwithstanding my other pursuits, is my favourite study; and if I live to complete my other schemes, I shall with pleasure devote myself almost entirely to the study of the Scriptures. I believe there is in them enough to employ and reward the application of us all. I shall send yours to Mr. Turner to-day.§

TO THE SAME.||

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 4, 1770.

I AM glad that you approve of any thing in my Essay of Discipline, notwithstanding the faults that, I doubt not, you justly find with it.¶ However, I wrote it with as much circumspection as I am capable of, and you expect too much from me if you look for any thing better.

At present I am busy in completing my philosophical apparatus, and in making some new experiments. I have just

* “On the Analogy of the Divine Dispensations.” *Theol. Repos.* (1771) III. 3. This Essay was prefixed, in 1782, to the Institutes, Pt. iii. See W. II. 231.

† See *supra*, p. 112.

‡ See *supra*, p. 116. § *Orig.* MS.

|| “At Catterick.”

¶ See *supra*, p. 72, note ||.

made some that I am going to draw up an account of for the Royal Society. For the same purpose I have also just drawn up an account of some new electrical experiments of one Mr. Henley, of London;* and I have the same service to render one Mr. Ronayne, of Cork, in Ireland. My History of Electricity has made these, and many other electricians, whose labours I consider, in some measure, as my own.

I am just going to compile the History of Light and Colours.† But I ask your pardon. These are things that you do not trouble yourself about; but they are, at present, uppermost in my mind, and therefore you must excuse my mentioning them.

In the printed sheets I sent you of the Repository, you will find another piece of Dr. Duchal's,‡ which I hope you will like as well as the other. I have several other pieces of the same author coming from Ireland. I have not yet received the MSS. I expect from Dr. Lardner's executor.§ I wrote to him about them very lately, and hope to receive them soon. However, I rather suspect they will not contain any thing very material.

You may make yourself very easy about the antagonist of *Patrobas*.|| He is not a very formidable one, and I print his piece¶ merely to prove my impartiality. I shall be glad, however, if it hasten your sequel.**

* See "Account of a New Electrometer, invented by Mr. Henley, in a Letter from Dr. Priestley to Dr. Franklin, dated from Leeds, October 26, 1770." *Phil. Trans.* LXII. 359.

† See *supra*, pp. 116, 121.

‡ "Letter to Dr. Taylor, on the Doctrine of Atonement," communicated by C. R., probably Caleb Rotheram. *Theol. Repos.* II. 328.

§ See *infra*.

|| See *supra*, p. 112.

¶ "Objections to the Socinian Hypothesis," by *Barumensis*. *Theol. Repos.* II. 441. This antagonist, as will presently appear, was Rev. S. Badcock, in no long time commissioned to "put on the harness" for a more desperate conflict, thus to save the reputation of a qualified *orthodoxy*, and to sell the numbers of the Monthly Review.

** It soon produced "Remarks on the Objections of *Barumensis* to the Socinian Hypothesis," by *Socrates Scholasticus*. See *Theol. Repos.* III. 106, 249. That this was *Patrobas* under another *nomme de guerre*, see *Al. R.* XII. 526.

In a letter from "Barnstable, June 11, 1774," after expressing to Mr.

I have lately had several letters from Mr. Enfield,* so penitent and ingenuous, that I cannot but esteem and love him, and so would you, if you knew him thoroughly, notwithstanding his late offence and failure in point of friendship to me. I wish my controversy with him had never happened, but I hope some good will rise out of it.

Mr. Turner lately preached a sermon at my place, and a collection was made for the Infirmary in this town. It is printed, and will be sold for the benefit of the charity. He will not have a copy himself but what he pays for. Some will be sent to York immediately. You will see a paper of his in the next Repository, of very great value, on Christianity having stood the test of ridicule.† *Paulinus* is likely to have a controversy with W. W. You will see the *prolusio*‡ in the same number.§

TO THE SAME.||

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Dec. 6, 1770.

BEFORE this time I hope you will have received the text of my Lectures,¶ which you will find that I sent for my own sake. I am sensible that one half of the first section** is too

Lindsey the “peculiar pleasure” with which he had read his Apology, Mr. Badcock says,

“I beg leave to ask you one question. Was you the author of a paper in the Theological Repository, signed *Socrates Scholasticus*? I think I trace Mr. Lindsey in it. *Barumensis* is the very person who is now writing to you; and it would not in the least lessen my esteem and love of you if I was sure that you had opposed me. In one respect I merited correction; though in another respect it was doing me too much honour. Let this plead for my pertness. I was scarcely two-and-twenty when I writ that paper, and did it in a hurry, urged on by the warm solicitations of bigotry.

“I suppose you are acquainted with that worthy man Dr. Priestley. I am happy in his friendship, and owe much to his writings.” *Orig. MS.* The whole of this letter is given by Mr. Belsham. *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 506.

* See *supra*, pp. 117, 118.

† An “attempt to shew that, in fact, Christianity was exposed to ridicule from its first introduction into the world, till it became the established religion of the Roman empire.” *Theol. Repos.* II. 416.

‡ In “A Letter to Eusebius,” Mr. Turner. *Ibid.* p. 458.

§ *Orig. MS.*

|| “At Catterick.”

¶ See *supra*, pp. 72, 73. These Lectures afterwards formed the “Institutes.”

** “Of the Existence of God.” See W. II. 2—6.

metaphysical, and therefore I intend to throw it into notes.* You will also have received an addition to the "Address to Dissenters," the close of which you will not like. I shall alter it entirely, if not leave it quite out.†

I wish you would take the trouble to look over the "Address to Dissenters," and give me any hints for the improvement of it. I shall very soon begin to reprint it. The last sheet of the "Essay on Government"‡ is now in the press, and I think to employ the same printer.

In this place I received the favour of yours, for which I think myself exceedingly obliged to you. The part objected to is now burning before me, and with it shall go all the little indignation I had seemed to express; but really you conjecture right, that I expressed much more than I ever felt. In other cases, too, I believe a stranger will fancy I am very much *hurt* when I feel nothing, but in the moment that I am writing, and that more in *idea* than any thing else.

When you have done with the lectures, direct them to Mr. Cappe, who is to peruse them before they come back to me.§ I will send you Mr. Godwin's|| Address soon, and at the same time a discourse I formerly wrote¶ on the nature and conduct of devotion.**

* There were no notes on the publication.

† The additions now consist of *Sec.* iii., and the P. S., besides several intermediate paragraphs. See W. XXII. 296, *note*.

‡ *Ed.* 2. See *supra*, p. 108. Mr. Cooper has quoted the first four paragraphs of this treatise, (W. XXII. 8, 9,) to shew how Dr. Priestley, "in 1768," had anticipated "Franklin, Price, Condorcet, and Godwin" on "the perfectibility of the species, or, at least, its continually increasing tendency to improvement." Mr. Cooper adds,

"Under these impressions, Dr. Priestley sat down to investigate the principles on which governments *ought* to be founded, and by which their claims to public support and approbation ought to be tried." *Mem.* 8vo. pp. 344—348.

In a letter from "Maldon, May 30, 1768," the writer, S. N., having disputed some opinions (in the "Essay") on admission to offices, adds,

"However mistaken or inaccurate the Doctor is, in his account of political liberty, he deserves thanks for his clear and masterly defence of the lawfulness of resisting wicked princes." *Lond. Chron.* XXIII. 537.

§ See *infra*, Feb. 12, 1772.

|| See *supra*, p. 60.

¶ Probably "on habitual devotion." W. XV. 100.

** *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. S. MERIVALE.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Dec. 8, 1770.

I THANK you for your *additional thoughts*,† which came just in time to be noticed on the cover. I think them just and valuable.

You give me pleasure by your approbation of some of my late publications, which have displeased many of my acquaintance, who entertain the same sentiments with the person who wrote *Remarks* on them.‡ As you seem to take a friendly interest in that affair, I will, if you desire it, the next time I write to you, make use of the back side of a letter I wrote and printed, to shew a few persons, giving a narrative of the business, in answer to some heavy calumnies, which made my conduct to be considered in a light very injurious to me in Lancashire.§

I expect to be very much laughed at for my piece on “Church Discipline.”|| However, I seriously meant well in it, and hope it will do some good; if not in directing to the *means*, yet in setting the *end* in a light of greater importance.

I give lectures to the young men of my own congregation, on the subject of Natural and Revealed Religion, and think to publish my text, with a prefatory discourse on the methods of promoting religious knowledge in our societies.¶ For this, too, I shall be laughed at by many. But we should be weak indeed to be moved by such things.

I am reprinting the “Address to Dissenters as such,” with several additions, which I hope those that are serious and judicious among us will like, and some others, I hope, it may contribute to make so.

I like Beattie as you do,** and am not afraid of its overturn-

* “At the Academy in Exeter.”

† *Theol. Repos.* III. 58—70. The former paper of *Charistes* was entitled, “Some Thoughts concerning the Person of Christ, in Defence of Dr. Lardner’s Letter on that Subject.” *Ibid.* II. 65—82.

‡ See *supra*, p. 115.

§ See W. XXII. 440, 533—535.

|| See *supra*, p. 121.

¶ See W. II. xxii.—xxxii.

** See *supra*, p. 119. Rev. C. Rotheram, writing to Mr. Lindsey from

ing the doctrine of necessity. Hartley has sufficiently shewn that it is a principle by no means peculiar to unbelievers.*

“Kendal, July 6, 1771,” having just returned from London, says, “Beattie’s Essay on Truth is much read, and ’tis said Hume finds himself more hurt by it than by any thing that has been yet written against him.” *Orig. MS.*

* *Orig. MS.* on the back of a printed sheet, dated “Leeds, Dec. 1, 1770,” and entitled, “A Catalogue of the Books of which Dr. Priestley is already Possessed, or to which he has Access, for Compiling the History of Experimental Philosophy.” In “an advertisement” it is added,

“Dr. Priestley takes the opportunity of this second publication of his catalogues, to thank those of his friends who have contributed to the enlargement of them; and particularly the anonymous person who supplied him with the books that are marked with an *asterism*, to whom he has no other method of making his acknowledgments known.

“As he promised that, with the next copies of his catalogues he would endeavour to give his friends some idea of the probable extent of his work, he now informs them that, having carefully examined and made distinct references to all the original matter in the books of which he is already possessed, he imagines that he shall be able to reduce all the philosophical knowledge they contain into the compass of about six or eight volumes in quarto; and he does not suppose that the books he still wants can make any considerable addition to the bulk of his work, though they may contribute to its accuracy and perfection.

“He has already made such progress in writing the History and Present State of Discoveries relating to Light and Colours, that he flatters himself that, if he meet with no unexpected hindrances, he shall be able to deliver it to the printer about the beginning of the next summer. This part of his work will make one volume in quarto, but perhaps not quite so large as his History of Electricity. He chose to begin with this branch of experimental philosophy for no other reason but because the books he had collected furnished him with more materials for it than for any other. The next subject he propose to give his attention to is Magnetism, which he conjectures may make another volume. Beyond this, he has no distinct views himself, and therefore he can give no further information to others.

“Notwithstanding the generous assistance he has met with in the books that have been sent to him for the use of this work, he could not avoid being at a very considerable expense himself; but, being now engaged, he is determined not to be retarded by any expense for which he can possibly provide; confiding for his indemnification in the encouragement he promises himself from the liberal-minded friends of science, which is of no particular party either in politics or religion; and in his attachment to which he is as sincere and as zealous as he is with respect to any other subject which he imagines to be equally interesting and useful to mankind.

“Those who desire to have a particular account of this undertaking may see Dr. Priestley’s *Proposals*, which he drew up for that purpose, at Mr. Johnson’s, bookseller, St. Paul’s Churchyard.”

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Dec. 23, 1770.

I THANK you most sincerely for your remarks on the "Free Address,"† which I have sent to the printer, corrected in every place as you would have it, and improved in other respects, in such a manner as I flatter myself you will not dislike. The conclusion of the section‡ I troubled you with is now more serious than the beginning, and has no reference to the publication you now have in your hands. The close of it was dictated by the warmth of my affection for you and your friends. I will say nothing more till you see it.

I shall take your advice with respect to my Lectures§, though I really want printed copies for the use of my class. I shall, however, go on composing as soon as I resume the lecture, in the summer-time, and may, perhaps, publish them without my name when they are all completed.

I look upon my "History of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours," to be as good as finished, as little remains to be done besides transcribing, which, however, is necessarily slow and tedious. There will be a great number of plates in this volume; but as I have spared no expense in the purchase of books, &c., for it, and no pains in the composition of it, I will not be sparing of any thing that may contribute to the elegance or dignity of it. I think it will appear to more advantage than the "History of Electricity." It is a much finer subject for history, and I can assure you it was full as much wanted. I am satisfied that few or no persons have any idea of the discoveries that have been made in this branch of science.|| Indeed, nothing but this undertaking would have

* "At Catterick."

† See *supra*, p. 124.‡ W. XXII. 274. See *supra*, p. 124.§ See *supra*, pp. 123—125.

|| "The History," says Mr. Cooper, "was a faithful account of the knowledge of the day, and an unprejudiced tribute to the reputation of those philosophers who had, from time to time, extended the boundaries of science on the subjects treated of. Not a little has been added to the mass of fact^s then published by the subsequent experiments of Dr. Priestley himself, and his fellow-labourers. But we have no where else so systematic and com-

brought me acquainted with it, and no person could purchase the books in which the knowledge is contained under several hundred pounds.

I think myself very fortunate in happening to begin with this subject. But, after all, so capricious is the public taste, that though it be ever so well executed, it may not be well received; and then I shall go no farther with the undertaking. If I have tolerable success, and meet with no hindrances, I think I can dispatch the whole work in much less time than is imagined, and yet do it in the best manner that I am capable of.* But, indeed, I have no reason to complain of the reception of my philosophical works. My piece of Perspective,† I believe, is generally liked, and, I hope, will be useful. But I am sensible I have made myself many enemies by my theology and controversy, which, however, I would not recall.

You are the best judge whether Mr. Mann‡ have anticipated your design with respect to the Harmony. I expect, however, the sequel of *Patrobas*;§ and the remarks on the intermediate state, from the Archdeacon's friend.|| I long to see Mr. Jebb's Harmony.¶ I ordered it as soon as ever I saw it advertised, but have not received it yet.

I hope you will not have occasion to keep my Lectures much longer; but do not hurry yourself in the perusal of them. I want your opinion both of the plan and execution.**

plete, though brief an account of what had been made known to the world on this important branch of scientific inquiry.

"It is greatly to be wished that these histories should be continued on the plan Dr. Priestley adopted. To attain gradually to the summit of the temple of science, we must not only build on the foundations of our predecessors, but know somewhat of their intentions at the time of laying them." *Mem.* 8vo pp. 287, 288.

* "This great undertaking of Dr. Priestley, to embrace the various departments of philosophy, appears a labour sufficient for one life. But he proposed this undertaking, laborious as it was, without designing that it should occupy the whole, or the principal portion of his time, but his leisure hours only; for at no period did he postpone his professional duties, or his theological studies, for any other object whatever." *Ibid.* p. 278.

† See *supra*, p. 75.

‡ See *supra*, p. 120.

§ See *supra*, p. 122, note **.

|| See *supra*, p. 81 note.

¶ See his *Works*, (1787,) I. 57—136.

** *Orig.* MS.

TO THE SAME.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Jan. 8, 1771.

I THANK you for *Patrobas*.† I like it much, and it will be printed immediately. I also thank you for your judicious remarks on my Lectures; and shall avail myself of them when I revise them.

I wish you would inform the Archdeacon, that more than half of the next number of the *Repository* is printed off; and therefore that I must have the piece intended for it very soon, especially if it be of any length.

I am endeavouring, by means of a friend, to find what I can get for my *History of Light and Colours* of the booksellers, and if it be any thing tolerable, I shall not have recourse to subscription.‡

TO THE SAME.§

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Jan. 27, 1771.

I THANK you for your corrections of my *Proposals*,|| most of which I shall adopt, but, perhaps, not all of them, which I know will give you no offence. I think something should be said for the sake of the great numbers who are fond of natural philosophy, on account of amusing and surprising their acquaintance, and I have a whole section on that subject in my *History of Electricity*,¶ which, I believe, gave general satisfaction. But I will endeavour to alter and mend the passage.

The reason why you are pleased with a subscription in my case, is the very reason why I would have kept off it. I do not desire to know how I stand with the public, though I have no reason to think I should have stood amiss as a *philosopher* if theology had been out of the question. Yet I am so far from

* "At Catterick."

† "Christ's Apostles, a Rule to Christians how to Think and Speak of Him." *Theol. Repos.* III. 79—85. See *supra*, p. 128.‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ "At Catterick."

|| See *supra*, p. 126 *ad. fin.*

¶ Pt. vii. S. ii. Dr. Priestley remarks in the preface (1767) how "electrical experiments furnish the most pleasing and surprising appearances for the entertainment of his friends." W. XXV. 346.

repenting of what I have written in that way, that I shall certainly make myself still more obnoxious.

I have just written a long postscript to the "Address to Dissenters,"* which, I flatter myself, you will not dislike. I propose to take it to Mr. Turner to-morrow, for it must be printed in about a week.

I wonder that Mr. Jebb does not so much as mention Mr. Mann's Harmony. If I were to lecture in divinity I would not take his method. It must be very tiresome to students, and would keep them too long to one thing to the neglect of others. Besides, it is too timid a plan. Systems are the best for instruction, though they should be accompanied with particular criticism. Mr. Jebb recommends Taylor on the Romans,† which, I think, can only puzzle and mislead a person.‡

* W. XXII. 296—301.

† In "A Short Account of Theological Lectures now reading at Cambridge, to which is added a New Harmony of the Gospels," addressed to "the Archbishop of Canterbury" (Cornwallis).

Having "alluded to Taylor, Benson, Hallett, Peirce, and Sykes," as "authors" who had "happily completed the scheme of Locke," the lecturer adds, "Every work of Taylor is highly to be esteemed: his paraphrase and comment upon the Romans is invaluable." See Jebb's *Works*, I. 37.

His high opinion of this author thus further appears in the first of several "resolutions," (after recovery from a violent fever, in 1776,) found among his private papers: "Employ the whole of every Sunday in sacred study, in reading Hartley, Taylor, and other books, in which the spirit of piety and morality prevails." See Dr. Disney's *Mem. of Jebb*, p. 124.

In a note to an annexed "advertisement" which had "appeared in November, 1771," Mr. Jebb mentions "three sermons preached by Dr. Halifax, in the University Church," in which "the doctor" is not only "supposed to insinuate a charge" against the lecturer, but "has thought proper to point out Dr. Priestley without any ambiguities, as an object of his reprehension." *Works*, I. 40, 41, *note*.

This accuser of the lecturer was encountered by Mrs. Jebb, who in the letters of *Priscilla*, (which I have read in the London Chronicle,) and with a liberal spirit worthy of her connexion, so exposed the Churchman's disposition to "bind heavy burdens," rather than to "let the oppressed go free," as to draw from Dr. Paley the observation, "that the Lord had sold Sisera into the hand of a woman." See *Mem. of Jebb*, p. 82 *note*.

Dr. Halifax, who was probably skilful to "weigh well the wages with the work assigned," became in due time Bishop of Gloucester. Whether Dr. Priestley thus early assisted to make a bishop, as he afterwards largely contributed to the lawn sleeves of Dr. Horsley, does not appear.

‡ See *supra*, p. 38; *Theol. Repos.* IV. 57—69.

If I had not understood that the Archdeacon would have procured some remarks on the intermediate state,* I should not have printed that piece in the Repository.† Tell him it is much admired, and has made several converts, and if he does not give us something on the subject the cause will suffer.‡

TO THE SAME.§

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Feb. 4, 1771.

I SHALL send the copies of the Repository to Mr. Reynolds|| and Dr. Chambers,¶ with the two sets to yourself; but I shall not load you in the unreasonable manner you are so generous as to desire.

Please to acquaint the Archdeacon that I am perfectly satisfied with his reason for not sending me an answer to the piece on the intermediate state. He informs me that my invitation to Deists** gives great offence, and is the cause of its ill success. And your friends think that the objections ought to be answered at the same time that they are proposed. The

* These never appeared in *Theol Repos.*

† See *supra*, p. 81 note.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ "At Catterick."

|| The late "Richard Reynolds, Esq., of Paxton, Mr. Lindsey's earliest pupil, and through life his intimate and chosen friend." *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. iii., 5, 6, 96, 97. See M. R. VIII. 49.

¶ "Rector of Achurch, Northamptonshire," where "he died, Sept. 4, 1777." Though "deeply impressed with a sense of the truth and importance of the doctrine of the *Divine Unity*, zealous to impart his light and knowledge to others," and "long resolved not to renew his subscription," and "above all sordid love of gain;" yet Dr. Chambers retained his rectory. "He omitted the *Gloria Patri*, as it is called, and never repeated any part of the service where Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit were addressed and invoked.

"The only time," adds Mr. Lindsey, "that I had the happiness of being with him in the country after my settlement in London, I attended public worship in his church on the Sunday with great satisfaction, for by the alterations he made in it, it was entirely conformable to the scripture-models, and Unitarian."

Dr. Chambers had "great skill in physic," which "he employed in healing the diseases of the poor all around him." See Lindsey's *Hist. View*, (1789,) pp. 489—492; *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 85 note.

** *Theol. Repos.* I. x—xii. See W. VII. 517, 518.

former is essential to the original design of the work, and the latter is absolutely impracticable. I am really surprised that any friends of the Repository should make such objections. It must be something totally different from what that work ever was, or pretended to be, that they wish to have established. So far am I from being able to promise an answer to all objections at the time they are made, that I cannot promise any answer at all. The same persons who object to *Pyrrho*,* I dare say, object to *Paulinus*, and many other things written by myself. If the work cannot be supported on the open and liberal plan proposed in the *Introduction* to it, my name shall no more go along with it.

I do not recollect what I said of Mr. Jebb's work, but I am sure I think of him and his undertaking with the greatest respect. As to Dr. Taylor, your conjecture concerning my opinion of his writings in general may be right; but to you I shall always express my real sentiments, from whatever causes they may spring. I was personally acquainted with the doctor,† and we never had a shadow of difference, and interference was entirely out of the question.

You will be surprised at the subject of my postscript,‡ but I think you will not be displeased with it.§ I will send you a copy by the next newsman.

This day I sent you a few copies of my Proposals.|| I also sent Dr. Lardner's piece on the Creation.¶ It belongs to his executor, who sent it to me, in order to its being reprinted in the Repository. Very few copies were sold, and the rest perished by an accident. I do not think it would do the author any credit, and it contains nothing original. Please to return it, if possible, by the next newsman, as I propose to

* Rev. Mr. Graham, of Halifax (*supra*, pp. 11, 80.) *Theol. Repos.* I. 184; II. 59, 462, 464. Rev. H. Primatt writes to Dr. Calder, "Nov. 11, 1773, I am much obliged to you for recommending to me Graham on the Atonement." Nichols's *Lit. Hist.*

† See *supra*, p. 47.

‡ "The growing Neglect of Attendance on Public Worship among those who are called Rational Dissenters." W. XXII. 296.

§ See *supra*, p. 72, note ||. || See *supra*, p. 129. ¶ See *supra*, p. 122.

take it with me to London this day sennight, which time I have now fixed for setting out. Can I do you or the Archdeacon any service there? If I can, command me freely.

The person you inquire after is Mr. Cardale, Dissenting minister at Evesham, in Worcestershire.* I have heard from him several times.† He is, by all accounts, a most excellent man, one after your own heart.

I have received a curious anonymous letter from Norwich, informing me that Mr. Cowper, of Brook, near that city, is the author of some Remarks on my Essay on Government, in the London Magazine. I will send you the letter itself, as it relates to the Archdeacon as much as me, along with the Address. Mr. Enfield told me he had a correspondence with a clergyman of some eminence near Norwich. I dare say it is the same person. He distinguished himself lately by his controversy with the Monthly Reviewers, on account of his Four Dissertations,‡ which were also criticised in the Repository.§

TO THE SAME.||

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Feb. 11, 1771.

As I am going to London this day sennight, if you see any thing much amiss in the Address,¶ I beg you would give me immediate information concerning it. It will not be too late to cancel a leaf, if it be necessary; but I hope you will not see much to find fault with.

* "Where he preached forty years, till his death, in 1775." See M. R. XI. 343, 344.

† He contributed two articles, signed *Philoleutherus Vigorniensis*, "A Christian's Creed," and "The Form of God applied to Jesus Christ." *Theol. Repos.* I. 136; II. 141, 219. The same signature Mr. Cardale had annexed, in 1767, to the following publication:

"The True Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ considered, wherein the Misrepresentations upon the Arian Hypothesis, and upon all Trinitarian and Athanasian Principles, are exposed; and the Honour of our Saviour's Divine Character and Mission is Maintained; with a Prefatory Discourse on the Right of Private Judgment." (*Ed.* 2, 1771.) See Kippis's "Life of Lardner," p. lxxvii; M. R. X. 477; XI. 399; XVI. 527.

‡ "On some difficult texts in the New Testament."

§ *Orig. MS.* See "Remarks," by *Eusebius*, Mr. Turner, *Theol. Repos.* I. 387—396.

¶ "At Catterick."

¶ See *supra*, p. 130.

I do not know what to say to Lardner's piece.* You must own that it is unworthy of him; and as it is not improbable but this may be the last volume of the Repository, I would have the materials very choice and original. Direct to me at Mr. Johnson's.

I would be governed by you with respect to the Repository, if it were practicable, but I cannot possibly undertake to answer all the objections to Christianity, and all difficult questions that are sent me. As to the Deists† I have no reason to think that I have had a single article sent from that quarter, though several have been solicited to state in it the objections that had the most weight with them. *Pyrrho*‡ is a very sincere Christian, and an exemplary good man, though something of a sarcastical turn,§ contracted, I believe, by the great opposition he for a long course of years has been exposed to from the Methodists and Independents, from which quarter I also begin to suffer a good deal.||

TO THE SAME.¶

DEAR SIR,

Ferry-bridge, Feb. 17, 1771.

I AM exceedingly sorry that your letter came so late. The last sheet of the Repository was printed off, and even the blue cover; so that it was not possible to notice the addition to *Socrates Scholasticus* at all. I think it a very proper addition to the paper, and you may depend on its being inserted in the next number;** but it will not be published till the first of September next.

On Saturday last I sent you two sets of both volumes of the Repository, and twelve sets of the second volume, which, according to my calculation, is the number that you ordered. This work shall not die, if I can possibly keep it up, and I do not easily give up any scheme that I engage in. I have left to be printed in my absence, and to be corrected by Mr. Turner,

* See *supra*, p. 132.

† See *supra*, p. 131.

‡ See *supra*, p. 132.

§ See W. XXI. 20—22, 24.

|| *Orig.* MS. In Mr. Upcott's collection.

¶ “At Catterick.”

** *Theol. Repos.* III. 249. See *supra*, p. 122, note **.

an ingenious piece, signed *Bereanus*,* in defence of the Arian hypothesis, and some very judicious remarks on Chubb's Farewell, by W. W.,† the antagonist of *Paulinus*. He is a very ingenious and worthy man of my acquaintance, a Dissenting minister,‡ and has not the least notion that I am *Paulinus*.

The deceased friend that *Paulinus* refers to in this number of the Repository is Mr. Clarke, of Birmingham,§ who gave me his name at the beginning of the scheme. I most exceedingly regret my friend Alexander.|| He would have been to me instead of a legion. I am informed that several more pieces of Dr. Duchal,¶ and some of Abernethy, were sent me for the Repository; but they must have been lost in their passage to Liverpool; but I shall write immediately to procure fresh copies of them.

I have some letters that passed betwixt Dr. Lardner and Mr. Hallet,** but the doctor's executor hesitates about giving me the whole correspondence, and without that I think it will not be worth while to print the beginning of it. It relates chiefly to the Logos.†† I shall see him in London.

Do not be uneasy about my affairs at Leeds. I hope I shall do very well. The increase of Methodism with us is sudden and astonishing.‡‡

* J. Wright, M.D., Bristol. *Theol. Repos.* III. 133—155.

† *Ibid.* 156, 321.

‡ Mr. Willett. See *supra*, p. 39.

§ See *supra*, p. 25. || See *supra*, pp. 25, 26. ¶ See *supra*, p. 122.

** Described as his "much valued correspondent," *Mem.*, (1769,) p. 49. See *ibid.* pp. 89, 91.

†† "Mr. Hallet, with whom Dr. Lardner had exchanged several letters on this subject, but who was of a different opinion from him, thus concludes one of them:

" 'The consideration of these matters is so far from lessening my friendship and regard for you, that I reverence and esteem you more than ever; and you shall never find me say one word inconsistent with the highest respect and friendship. May God long preserve your usefulness.' " *Ibid.* p. 113, *note*. See Kippis's *Mem. of Lardner*, p. lx.

Another of Lardner's MSS. soon after attracted attention. Mr. Rotheram writes to Mr. Lindsey from "London, June 19, 1772. Mr. Farmer told me last night, that Dr. Lardner had made some few collections, with a design to write the Life of Luther. If Mr. Blackburne desires to see the Doctor's papers, I will endeavour to procure them." *Orig. MS.* The Archdeacon had formed the same design. See *Account*, p. liii.

‡‡ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds.†

I HAVE been returned from London about a fortnight; but a variety of business has prevented me from writing to you so soon as I ought to have done. I hope you received a letter I wrote to you from Ferrybridge, on my way to London, relating to the Repositories you were so obliging as to order.‡

I thank you for your remarks on the Address.§ They are certainly just; but I consulted with Dr. Kippis about them, and we thought it was hardly worth while to cancel what was already printed for the sake of the improvements. In this I hope you will excuse us. In one of the passages there was a misprint, which will be corrected with a pen.

Dr. Lardner's History of the Heretics will be published; but I cannot tell how soon. It is, however, in great forwardness.|| His executor gave me Mr. Tomkins's¶ Answer to Dr. Lardner on the Logos, for the Repository.** It was addressed to Dr. Lardner under the name of *Philalethes*,†† if I have not been misinformed.‡‡

When I was in London I met with Eyre's "Observations on the Prophecies relating to the Restoration of the Jews,"§§ which, if you have not seen, I can strongly recommend to your notice. It has given me the greatest satisfaction with respect to a subject in which indeed I have always been a believer, I

* "At Catterick."

† Probably about April 1771.

‡ See *supra*, p. 134.§ See *supra*, p. 133.|| See *supra*, p. 89, note §.

¶ See *supra*, p. 35. It has been recorded of Dr. Lardner that "he preached his first sermon, Aug. 2, 1709, for his friend the Rev. Mr. Martin Tomkins at Stoke Newington from *Rom. i. 16.*" *Mem. of Lardner*, (1769,) p. 3.

** See "A Defence of the Arian Hypothesis." *Theol. Repos.* (1771), III. 257—291.

†† Dr. Lardner's signature to the "Letter."

‡‡ See *supra*, p. 69.

§§ With an appendix, in answer to some late writers. Svo. 1771. *Mon. Rev.* XIV. 361—364.

mean the return of the Jews. That Christ will reign over them in person, I do not think quite so clear.

I have also lately seen a piece on the prophecies, written by one Taylor, in Scotland, which contains some things well worth notice. Daniel says that "the sanctuary shall be cleansed" after "2300 days."* These, reckoned from "the third year of Belshazzar," when the "vision" was seen, would lead us to expect that the restoration of the Jews cannot be far off.† In Abubeker's instructions to his generals,‡ (which you may see either in the *Universal History*, or in *Guthrie's General History*,) you will find a remarkable illustration of *Rev.* ix. 4.§ This I learnt from Dr. Chandler's interleaved Bible.|| I have of late given a good deal of attention to the

* *Dan.* viii. 14.

† See Dr. Priestley's later expectations, *W.* XX. 280, 289—291.

‡ In 632. The speech of Abubeker is thus quoted by the learned Cambridge professor, Simon Oekley, from Arabic authorities:

"Yezid, be sure you do not oppress your own people, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just, for those that do otherwise shall not prosper.

"When you meet with your enemies, quit yourselves like men, and do not turn your backs; and if you get the victory, kill no little children, nor old people, nor women. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant, or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word.

"As you go on you will find some religious persons that live retired in monasteries, who propose to themselves to serve God that way. Let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries. And you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogues of Satan, who have shaven crowns. Be sure to cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, till they either turn Mahometans, or pay tribute." See "*History of the Saracens*," (1757,) II. 22.

Yet, notwithstanding these dictates of moderation (with one horrible exception) for the government of an excited soldiery, there is poetry without fiction in the lines of Dr. Roberts, *W.* XVI. 374.

§ See *W.* XIV. 463.

|| Thus noticed in a letter to Mr. Lindsey, from Rev. C. Rotheram, who had just returned from a visit to London:

"Kendal, July 6, 1771. Dr. Furneaux is transcribing Chandler's interleaved Testament, and preparing his notes for the press, with some additions of his own. There are various opinions how far a work of that sort may be

subject of prophecies, and, if the Repository had continued, I should have given a short view of what I think to be the best interpretations of those of Daniel and the Revelations.

My subscription, I believe, goes on as well as I could expect,* but all I *can* expect from this volume is to be indemnified for the expenses I have been at. The Duke of Northumberland was very civil to me.†

I have lately been informed of a most excellent pamphlet, called an Address to the Common Sense of the People of England,‡ on the subject of Religion, or something to that purpose. I have sent for it.

You will soon see an admirable piece on the subject of the Scotch confessions and subscriptions, similar to the Confessional in England. Dr. Kippis was correcting the press for it. I read some of the sheets.

I am printing new editions of my Catechisms and Address to Masters of Families.§ I am also drawing up a Scripture Catechism.||

TO REV. S. MERIVALE.¶

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the liberty to send you a copy or two of a pamphlet** that has made a good deal of noise in this neighbourhood, to which the publication of it has been confined. A thousand

useful. Chandler's critical talents were considerable, and the manuscript is supposed to be in good hands." *Orig. MS.*

Dr. Towers says, this "large number of critical notes, chiefly in Latin, are now (1784) the property of Dr. Kippis, Mr. Farmer, Dr. Price, and Dr. Savage, and which have been intended to be published, but the design has not yet been executed." *Biog. Brit.* III. 435.

* Dr. Franklin subscribed for 20 copies, and according to the list prefixed to "The History of Discoveries," the number at length exceeded 500. Yet see *supra*, p. 78, note †.

† See the Dedication to the Duke, W. XXV. 361.

‡ Probably "An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Inhabitants of Great Britain concerning their Religious Rights and Privileges." *Mon. Rev.* XLV. 401.

§ See *supra*, p. 72.

|| *Orig. MS.*

¶ Written about this time, and probably from Leeds.

** The "Appeal." See *supra*, p. 74.

were sold in three weeks, and the second edition consists of two thousand more, and I have heard of four answers to it, though none of them are yet published.* There are many conjectures concerning the author, and, among others, I have not escaped. As it seems calculated to do good, many of my friends take quantities of them to give away. Perhaps you may get it reprinted with you, or shall I send you a hundred? I promised one to Mr. Badcock, of Barnstable, with whom I occasionally correspond, and, as I have no frank for him, I wish you would convey it to him as soon as you conveniently can.

I shall complete this third volume of the Repository, and then I believe I shall be compelled to shut it up for some time.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your leisure, and to know the state of your academy.

Have you seen Eyre's Observations on the Prophecies, concerning the restoration of the Jews?† It pleases me much. I hope some great events are coming forward.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, June 14, 1771.

I AM really ashamed to have neglected writing to you so long, but indeed I have written no letters at all, except on the most urgent business, I am so much engaged with my History, &c., of which we now print four sheets a week.

I have found time, however, to write a little thing,§ which I send you, and which I was induced to do, by way of trial whether any good could be done to the common people in our neighbourhood by a very familiar and serious address, and it has not been without a good effect. We have sold near 1000 of them in this neighbourhood in about a fortnight, and I am now printing 2000 more, with some improvements. Nothing could be got by them if they be all sold, and many persons purchase them by several dozens to give away. I have sent

* See W. XXI. 3—28.

† See *supra*, p. 136.

‡ *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 137, 138.

§ See *supra*, p. 138, note ††.

none to London, and have only advertised it in one of the Leeds papers.

I also send you a letter I have just received from a new correspondent in Scotland, because I think it will give you pleasure. I design to send you two other letters I have received from him, as soon as I can get them out of the hands of a friend to whom I transmitted them. They shew an instance of the greatest Christian heroism that I have heard of in modern times. I wish the example may produce any good.

I should be glad to know something of the history of the present motion for reformation in England,* and what you

* Mr. Dyer mentions "two assemblies of the clergy, one at the Feathers' Tavern, the other at Tennison's Library;" and adds, "No less than five of them have since attained the episcopal dignity." See "Inquiry into the Nature of Subscription," (1792,) p. 3, and *infra*, p. 144 note.

Among the clergy who thus timely halted in the road of reformation, as if, like murmuring Israel, they had scented "the flesh-pots of Egypt," was the metropolitan prelate, whom Lindsey to Jebb, "Jan. 17, 1773," has converted, by a felicitous anagram, into Dr. *Proteus*.

This "motion for reformation" appears just about this time to have alarmed, even to the hazard of mental propriety, at least one clergyman of the Protestant establishment.

The Rev. W. Cole bequeathed his very large collection of MSS. to the British Museum, not to be disclosed till thirty years after his decease. Among these I found, and here copy *verbatim* his *autograph* transcript of a letter which he addressed, "June 7, 1771," from his residence, "Milton, near Cambridge," to "Father Charles Bedingfield, Recollet," thus inviting the sympathy of a Franciscan friar with the perilous condition of a parliamentary church, a near relative, no doubt, in Mr. Cole's estimate, of Rome's holy matron, although *matre pulchra, filia pulchrior*.

"The clergy of the Church of England are now grown so very candid and abundantly generous, that they won't even stay for the Dissenters' demands and endeavours to pull down their church: they choose to do it themselves. Possibly you may have seen an advertisement in the London papers from some of the clergy, to call a meeting at the London Tavern, for such of their brethren as choose to herd with them, to sign a petition to Parliament to free them from all subscriptions and articles of what sort soever.

"The design is promoted by Archdeacon Confessional, a Dr. Dawson, a Dr. Priestley, keeper of a Dissenting academy at Warrington, one who has this year publicly accused the Church of England as idolatrous for its belief in the Trinity, and one Mr. Jebb, formerly of Peter House, and now living in Cambridge, where he has one of the churches, and, audacious, reads

think is likely to be the issue of it. I am afraid it is not like to come to any thing.

I have not seen a letter addressed to the late Archbishop, which I have just heard that the Archdeacon has published. What title doth it bear, and how must I send for it?

I must beg you would return Mr. Honeyman's* letter as soon as you can. Mr. Turner has not yet seen it.

public lectures to many sets of young divines and others on the gospels, where the Arian doctrines are constantly inculcated. This man, within these ten days, has printed two or three papers, and distributed them about the University, all tending to promote this Arian and Socinian scheme, in order to gain the University to pass a grace, that for the future persons may be admitted to academical degrees without subscribing to the articles and liturgy.

“The clergy who join this scheme must be either blind to their own interest, or abandoned to the cause of Christianity, as it is evidently an infidel and libertine design to overthrow religion, and bring nothing but confusion and anarchy into the church. Deism, Arianism, Socinianism, and all the various offspring of Calvinism, may then take preferments in the church, which, in my opinion, if this scheme prevails, it will be a disgrace to be any longer a member of. Pray God it may prove abortive, together with the views of their fellow-labourers in the same cause, the Wilkites, and his abettors.

“There is a manifest and avowed design in many people, clergy, I say it with sorrow, as well as laity, to ruin the constitution in Church and State. I have seen and heard too much of it to be any ways in doubt about it, though their wise heads have thought of nothing to substitute in place of either. You must not, therefore, be much surprised to hear me join you in *fuat Deus* to a return of a body of men who, if they keep to their institute, it is to be hoped will be an out-work in Christendom to the attacks of such dangerous enemies, and I therefore most heartily and sincerely say amen to it. When I was at Paris, I saw clearly who were the avowed enemies of these fathers; the very same sort of men who, in England, are the mortal enemies of the clergy and Christianity.”

Mr. Cole in a note assures his Catholic friend, “from good authority, that a school for the French nobility is given to two Jesuits;” adding, “if so, their restoration must be nigh at hand.” See Cole's MSS. XXIII. 119, 120.

In this somewhat “railing accusation,” the reverend writer appears as much at fault on the theology of Jebb, or the present residence and occupations of Priestley, as in his fond anticipations in favour of the Jesuits. See Boscovich to Dr. Priestley at Paris, 1774, W. X. 482.

* I regret to have discovered no more of this case than Dr. Priestley discloses, nor can I find the name of Honeyman any where in the Unitarian connexion.

I have just received Remarks on some of my publications by a person who calls himself a *Shaver*,* but it is altogether unworthy of notice.

PS. I am only suspected, and not universally, to be the author of the inclosed.

In a former letter Mr. Honeyman informs me that he would be glad to find employment as a tutor to some young gentleman. I wish I could be of service to him. I should think it to be befriending a disciple in the name of a disciple.

My respects to the Archdeacon and his family. Shew him the letter.†

TO REV. S. MERIVALE.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Aug. 23, 1771.

THE state of religion with us is similar to what you describe it to be with you, but not quite so bad. The *Appeal* has excited, I may say, universal attention here. Two answers have appeared, and several more are threatened. No notice will be taken of them, except that a third will be published, containing a new translation, or familiar illustration, of all the texts of which the Calvinists avail themselves. I inclose the second edition of the *Appeal*, and the sequel to it.‡

The Repository will fail, for no other reason but because it is too expensive to me. I should have lost 20*l.* by the last volume, but that a few friends bought sets to give away, on purpose to indemnify me, but I cannot expect such assistance a second time. I am glad that the article signed *Clemens* has your approbation. There are four articles of mine in the number that is just printed.§ I think I told you that *Liberius* is one of my signatures. I like the paper you sent me very much.|| You may depend upon seeing it in the next number. I hope you will not fail to send me your thoughts on the subject you mention. I shall be obliged to you if you will urge

* Perhaps Maegowen, a Baptist preacher, who wrote under that name.

† Orig. MS.

‡ See *supra*, p. 138.

§ *Theol. Repos.* III. 188, 231, 239, 255. See W. VII. 399, 492, 495; XX. 524.

|| "Some Thoughts on the Question, whether it be in any Case suppo-

Dr. Amory to send me the paper you say he has written. When I was last in London I heard him preach a sermon which contained many severe reflections against the Socinians.*

The second edition of my "Address to the Dissenters as such"† has been published some time. I have also printed new editions of my Catechism, and Address to Masters of Families.‡ I inclose a short narrative of my controversy with Mr. Enfield, but must insist upon its being returned to me, after shewing§ it to whom you please. Let Mr. Badcock see it. I am much pleased with his correspondence. The account he gives me of the young ministers of the rational stamp among you gives me serious concern. The levities in which they indulge themselves must do great harm to the cause of truth, and woe unto them by whom the offence cometh.||

Mr. Enfield and I are now upon very good terms. I really esteem him much.¶ He was lately at Leeds, upon a scheme for a fund for the academy at Warrington. I am very sorry to hear of the declining state of yours, and wonder what can have been the reason of it. Indeed, all our academies for ministers are poorly supplied. There is very poor encouragement for them.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your leisure.**

sable that an honest and impartial Inquirer should resist the Evidences of Christianity. In a Letter to a Friend, July 14, 1755." By *Charistes*.

A reference is added to Doddridge's Lectures, *Prop.* cxxxvii., "Faith required by the Gospel," *Schol.* 5, 6. See *Theol. Repos.* III. 364—376.

* Dr. Amory, who died 1774, aged 73, was now Dr. Price's colleague at Newington Green, and afternoon preacher at the Old Jewry, as successor to Dr. Chandler. His friend Dr. Kippis says,

"His sentiments nearly agreed with those of Dr. Samuel Clarke. Dr. Amory did not, therefore, fall in with the Socinian principles, which of late (1778) have been so warmly defended, neither did he reject the natural evidences of a life to come, or the notion of a separate state, as several ingenious moderns have done." *Biog. Brit.* I. 178.

† See *supra*, p. 74.

‡ See *supra*, p. 72

§ See *supra*, p. 125.

|| Whatever were "the levities" of these "young ministers," which Dr. Priestley so justly condemns, the sad moral failure of his informant, which appears to have given to his character the motley "colour of remaining life," would almost compel the reflection, "Let him that standeth, take heed lest he fall." See W. XIX. 537.

¶ See *supra*, p. 118.

** *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Aug. 23, 1771.

I PRESUME that by this time you are returned from London, so that I hope this will find you at Catterick.

If I have been rightly informed, you were no more than twenty-four at the meeting,* and you were in the chair, which

* "At the Feathers' Tavern, July 17, the first general meeting." A committee was appointed "to prepare a petition to Parliament to obtain redress in the matter of subscription to the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." *Mem. of Jebb*, p. 32. See *supra*, p. 140, where the number of clerical reformers, who afterwards became acquiescing prelates, should have been *three*, Yorke, Percy, and Porteus. See Lindsey's *Apology*, (1782,) *Ed.* 4, p. 2, *note*; *Vindiciæ Priestleianæ*, pp. 51, 52.

"The Clergy-Society at the *Feathers*," says Mr. Lindsey, "was made up, as the like voluntary combinations of serious and inquisitive persons, unknown to each other, ever will be made up, of men differing in opinion from each other in many respects, but united in this, that subscription to human formularies of faith was an unjust imposition upon the consciences of men, and an invasion of Christ's authority, the only Lord of conscience, and Head of his church." *Apology*, (1782,) *Ed.* 4, pp. 3, 4. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 46, &c.

Mr. Lindsey, at the date of Dr. Priestley's letter, appears to have been still absent from Catterick, incessantly employed in promoting the objects of the petition. From "London, July 31," he had thus written to Mr. Jebb:

"Our enemies say (for I have met and combated several in this town and its environs) that we are composed of a few insignificant people, a mere junto. I trust that such will find that they have been mistaken. We are already a respectable and increasing body, and before our next meeting I hope shall be sufficient in numbers to interest the attention of the Legislature, though our cause alone ought to interest them."

He was now "going into Essex, purely to procure one or two friends, or rather to fix them," and for the same purpose "into the West, through Salisbury and Dorset to Bristol and Bath." Mr. Lindsey adds,

"At some towns I am amazed that all should not join us; but at others, when one considers the ignorance, the abjectness, the sordid secular views of many, and the prejudices of others better minded, we may be contented that things are no worse." *Orig. MS.*

Again, "Sept. 6," to the same able and zealous fellow-labourer:

"I have been so much taken up with trotting from place to place these four or five days that I have been in London, that I have not found time to thank you for an obliging letter which waited for me here till my return.

I think it more to your honour than being at the head of any convocation or general council; but I hope I have not been

“I wish I could send you an account of any great success in my tour with regard to our important affair, which was the main end of it. But our brethren in general are asleep, totally ignorant of, or totally indifferent about, the true gospel of our Lord and Master, and I fear would subscribe any code whatsoever with the same ease as they do the articles, &c., and abide by it.” *Orig. MS.*

Thus the Rev. J. Wilde, of Chadkirk, writes, “July 26, 1778,” to Gilbert Wakefield, “I am verily persuaded that if the *Bible* was burnt to-morrow, and the *Alcoran* introduced and established in its stead, we should still (provided the emoluments were the same) have plenty of bishops, priests, and deacons.” Mr. Wilde had “continued through life on a cure of forty pounds a year,” because he would not “repeat his subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.” *Mem. of Wakefield*, (1804,) I. 165, 166. In his letter, Mr. Lindsey further says,

“Mr. Pitt, (Lord Chatham’s eldest brother’s son,) an accomplished scholar and gentleman, writes to me from the remotest part of Cornwall, that he gives us some assistance there, and will support us in Parliament, if we keep free from faction, and go on with moderation and good temper, as we have begun.” *Orig. MS.*

In 1804, Lord Grenville, Mr. Pitt’s son-in-law, edited a small volume of “Letters, written by the late Earl of Chatham to his Nephew, Thomas Pitt, Esq., (afterwards Lord Camelford,) then at Cambridge.” He “is there described,” says Lord Grenville, “such as Lord Chatham judged him in the first dawn of his youth, and such as he continued to his latest hour. The same suavity of manners and steadiness of principle, the same correctness of judgment and integrity of heart, distinguished him through life, and the same affectionate attachment from those who knew him best has followed him beyond the grave.” *Pref.* pp. xiii. xiv.

Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Jebb, “Nov. 19,” mentions “a farther obliging declaration” just received from Mr. Pitt, who well redeemed his pledge in the debate, Feb. 6, 1772. (See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 55, 56.) The letter thus affectionately concludes :

“I rejoice that you attend to every thing as you do. Take care of your health; and also take care of your many enemies, who, I hear from all parts, and from some of high rank, are determined to crush you if you give them but the least opening for a blow. Both *Priscilla* [see *supra*, p. 130,] and *Aquila* are our frequent theme, and have our constant prayers that they may go on to excel in that chiefest excellence they are in pursuit of, the promotion of truth and righteousness.” *Orig. MS.*

In a long letter to Mr. Jebb, “Nov. 1,” Mr. Lindsey had introduced from “Dr. Chambers’s Letter” the following anecdote. It may assist to compare “Charles Fox,” at the age of 23, with the liberal and enlightened statesman and philanthropist of a later period :

rightly informed when I was told that, in consequence of some steps taken by the Bishop (I think) of Lincoln, your intended application to Parliament is dropped, and that nothing more will be done in the business. If this be true, in how striking a light doth it shew the danger of such complicated establishments! Nothing, however, can deprive you of the honour of having endeavoured to bring about a reformation, and by posterity you will be remembered with gratitude and respect.

To me every thing looks like the approach of that dismal catastrophe described, I may say predicted, by Dr. Hartley, in the conclusion of his Essay,* and I shall be looking for the downfall of Church and State together. I am really expecting some very calamitous, but finally glorious, events. Happy they who will be found watching in the way of their duty!

I have of late been very busy about some experiments on *air*, with respect to respiration and vegetation, and flatter myself that I have discovered what I have long been in quest of, viz., that process in nature by which air, rendered noxious by breathing, is restored to its former salubrious condition. Air in which animals have died, and which kills other animals, instantaneously, afterwards is made fit for respiration again by plants living in it, and they thrive amazingly in that

“The other day Dr. Hunt went to wait upon Lord Upper Ossory, at his hunting-seat in this neighbourhood, where was Charles Fox and other lively bucks. The doctor very *seasonably* and *politely* opened upon the subject of our petition, and asked if they had heard of this intention of addressing Parliament. ‘Yes,’ says Mr. Fox, ‘and if conducted with temper and prudence, it may not be a bad scheme.’ ‘How,’ says the doctor, ‘will not what tends to hurt the constitution and establishment of the Church ultimately affect Government, and, at this time, occasion great embarrassment and confusion?’ ‘If I thought so,’ says Fox, ‘I would oppose it; but perhaps, as there are no very considerable persons concerned in it, it will drop of course.’”

Mr. Lindsey adds, “I send this, as it may suggest to guard against and counteract such false brethren [as Dr. Hunt]; but it also suggests, and I have met with several instances of the sort, that it is true of his gospel in all *trying* times, as of its divine author, *Luke* ii. 35. In your sphere you have still frequenter occasion, I fear, of seeing this discovery of inward hearts on their dark side.” *Orig. MS.*

* See W. XV. 514, 575—578.

noxious air. Many other facts, exceedingly curious and important, have occurred in the course of these experiments.*

I inclose the second edition of the Appeal, and a sequel to it. A third is intended, containing a new translation or familiar illustration of all the texts of which the Calvinists avail themselves.

If it be agreeable to you and the Archdeacon, Mr. Turner and I shall, with great pleasure, give you the meeting at Knaresborough, at whatever time you shall appoint, and the sooner the better. I shall with pleasure suspend my business for a few days to enjoy so great a satisfaction.

Mr. Honeyman† is invited to a small congregation at Stamford, and I shall expect to see him soon in Yorkshire.

In the Repository which is now printed there are four articles of mine, and two of Mr. Turner's.‡ I can send you by the carrier what you want of the small pamphlets. Two answers to the Appeal are out, and more are threatened. The last is by the Vicar of Letsome, and as furious as Mr. Venn's.§

* See *supra*, pp. 57, 77.

† See *supra*, pp. 140—142.

‡ See *supra*, p. 71, 72, 112.

§ *Orig. MS.* Mr. Lindsey, writing to Mr. Turner from "Catterick, Oct. 12, 1771," refers, I apprehend, to this letter :

"I have many apologies to make to my friend Dr. Priestley for my silence, and for a letter and small packet from him which reached me in London only a fortnight ago. I must, however, entreat you to excuse me to him through multiplicity of business and engagements, which will occupy me I know not how long ; but if I come into your parts I will assuredly pay my respects to him in my way." *Orig. MS.*

"Nov. 1," on the uncertain issue of these "engagements," Mr. Lindsey expresses to the same correspondent these characteristic feelings of pious resignation :

"The cause is good and righteous, and in that, and the overruling providence of God, we must put our trust. And the cause will prosper now, if it fall in with the plan of Divine government, for this nation of ours, to check the growth of unprincipled dissoluteness in all ranks, the established teachers of righteousness more especially. But, *si Deo aliter visum est*, we must lay our hands upon our mouths, and hope we have, in some measure, delivered our own souls." *Orig. MS.*

On Mr. Lindsey's later opinion of "the service done to Christ's true religion by the clergy association and petition," though "it failed of immediate success in its primary object," see his *Apology*, pp. 235, 236.

TO DR. PRICE.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Oct. 3, 1771.

YOU may depend upon the account I sent you of my experiments on the restoration of air made noxious by animals breathing it, or putrefying it, which I sent to Dr. Franklin.† Air in which candles have burnt out is also restored by the same means. In some instances, however, this method has failed to restore the two former kinds of air. Perhaps it may

* “Newington Green.”

† And communicated to the Royal Society (with Franklin’s letter on the subject) in “Observations on Different Kinds of Air. Read March 5, 12, 19, 26, 1772.” *Phil. Trans.* LXII. 147—267. Dr. Priestley says,

“One might have imagined that since common air is necessary to vegetable as well as to animal life, both plants and animals would affect it in the same manner; and I own I had that expectation when I first put a sprig of mint into a glass jar, standing inverted in a vessel of water; but when it had continued growing there for some months, I found that the air would neither extinguish a candle, nor was it at all inconvenient to a mouse which I put into it.” *Ibid.*; M. R. XIII. 677. Dr. Franklin remarks in reply,

“That the vegetable creation should restore the air which is spoiled by the animal part of it, looks like a rational system, and seems to be of a piece with the rest. Thus, fire purifies water all the world over. It purifies it by distillation when it raises it in vapours, and lets it fall in rain; and farther still by filtration, when, keeping it fluid, it suffers that rain to percolate the earth. We knew before that putrid animal substances were converted into sweet vegetables when mixed with the earth and applied as manure; and now it seems that the same putrid substances, mixed with the air, have a similar effect.

“The strong thriving state of your mint in putrid air seems to shew that the air is mended by taking something from it, and not by adding to it. I hope this will give some check to the rage of destroying trees that grow near houses, which has accompanied our late improvements in gardening, from an opinion of their being unwholesome. I am certain, from long observation, that there is nothing unhealthy in the air of woods; for we Americans have every where our country habitations in the midst of woods, and no people on earth enjoy better health, or are more prolific.” *Phil. Trans.* LXII. p. 199; M. R. XIII. pp. 678, 679, note †.

Mr. Brande having described “the prominent features” of this paper, which was Dr. Priestley’s first communication “respecting the different kinds of air,” adds, “had he bestowed no other contribution upon chemistry, the facts here detailed would have entitled him to a conspicuous place among the benefactors of the science.” *Ibid.*

be owing to the plants not having the same vigour at the close of the year.

But I have just succeeded in a method of restoring these kinds of noxious air in a more certain and expeditious method, viz. by mixing with it, with certain precautions, a quantity of air from lime-stone, or fermentation, which is equally deadly when separate. I have had several decisive proofs of this, without the least variation in the event.

I have been making many experiments on putrefaction, which is a most important process in nature, and which is little understood. The putrid effluvium is neither fixed air, as Macbride supposes, nor inflammable, as Mr. Cavendish thinks it partly is, but a thing *sui generis*, which diminishes the bulk of any quantity of common air to which it is admitted, disposing it, I believe, to deposit its fixed air. Had not Macbride been mistaken concerning the putrid effluvium, his own experiments would have led him, as they did me, to this discovery.

We have printed 530 pages of the "History of Light, &c."* I shall send to Mr. Canton as far as 400, with the plates, the next coach. I hope you will give so much attention to this work as to read the printed sheets, and let no great mistake escape me. Also note the more considerable errata of the press.

I send you a copy of the paper that was given me, containing an account of the inhabitants of Leeds.

In the manor of Leeds, inhabitants 12,690, families 3,023.

Kirkgate	2,491,	618.
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St. John's Land	1,199,	258.
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	16,380,	3,899.†

TO THE SAME.‡

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Oct. 12, 1771.

IN my last I mentioned my having restored air made noxious by putrefaction, and the breathing of animals, by a mixture of fixed air. I had several more seeming proofs of it

* See *supra*, p. 139.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ "At Newington Green."

afterwards, particularly in air which was generated solely from putrefying mice, which I have been collecting some months, than which nothing can be more deadly, and which I made a mouse to breathe for a considerable time without shewing any sign of uneasiness.* And yet some air tainted with putrid cabbage,† and another quantity that animals have breathed, baffle all my efforts, so that I see there is something in this subject that I am by no means master of, and I must suspend my conclusion respecting it some time longer. If I were to tell you how much time I have spent upon this subject, you would hardly believe me. I believe I must desist for the present. I hope you have received the printed sheets I sent you.‡

TO THE SAME.§

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Oct. 19, 1771.

I SHALL send you the next week 200 more pages of my work.|| I this day corrected p. 600. We shall have about 200 more. I thank you for your animadversion, though I have not yet seen it.

I rejoice exceedingly in the success of your work,¶ both on your own account, and that of the public, which, I think, cannot but receive great benefit from it.

I thank you for your condolence on the failure of some of my experiments. This day I made four, seemingly decisive ones, in favour of my first conclusion.

I took to a public brewery** a quantity of air, made highly

* See *infra*, pp. 155—157.

† “Dr. Priestley,” says Mr. Brande, “hints at the noxious powers of some plants, especially the cabbage, of which he kept a leaf in a glass of air for one night only, and in the morning a candle would not burn in it.” M. R. XIII. 677.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ “At Newington Green.”

|| The “History,” &c. See *supra*, p. 149.

¶ The “Treatise on Reversionary Payments,” published 1769; *Ed.* 2, 1772. See Mr. Morgan’s “Memoirs of R. Price, D. D.,” (1815,) pp. 41, 43.

It was, no doubt, for the purpose of this work, that Dr. Price had required “an account of the inhabitants of Leeds.” *Supra*, p. 149.

** See *supra*, p. 75.

noxious by mice putrefying in it, and dividing it into several parcels in phials, I hung them, with their mouths downwards, in the fixed air generated in the vats; but though they hung some of them near half an hour, they were not mended. I put mice into them, and they would have died almost instantly; but leaving about one-third of the phial full of water, and letting it out when they were hung over the vats, (that a quantity of fixed air might mix with it,) mice lived in it, and seemed to be perfectly at their ease. I let one continue in a drinking glass full of it five minutes, and it was taken out as vigorous as when it was put in. The same mouse, as well as some others, was exceedingly convulsed, and would have died in a minute or two, in the place from which the fixed air had been taken. Had it been very strong, they would have died much sooner. I propose to repeat these experiments several times, and shall re-examine those that failed.

Plants have in no instance yet failed to restore air in which wax candles have burned out, whereas air of the same parcel kept in a phial, extinguished a candle when the experiment was tried, and I have no doubt will do so some years hence. This process, however, has no effect on air in which brimstone has burned out. It is remarkable also, that lime water does not become turbid in this air, whereas it is instantly so in air in which most other kinds of bodies have burned. The diminution of the bulk of air is much the same in all the cases. The diminution by putrefaction is a constant and remarkable fact. I believe it precipitates the fixed air it contains, as it makes lime water turbid.

You will hardly believe it, but it is a fact, that I have spent more time on this tedious and puzzling course of experiments, than I have bestowed on the volume I am printing; but they have not been very expensive, whereas the other work is exceedingly so. When it is printed off I shall not be worth a groat, except my books, and the copies of the work; and I have no reason to think that I shall have 300 subscribers.*

* See *supra*, pp. 78, 138. "The subscribers," says Mr. Cooper, "were sufficiently numerous and respectable, but by far the majority were defaulters in respect of payment. It did not pay the bookseller: and, of course, still less

My two papers in the Transactions are very incorrectly printed, and so I see is a former paper of mine, which I did not attend to till lately.

Mr. Walker,* I am told, will contrive to meet me in London, which will be some time in March.

I have made inquiry, and find that what I said is right. The manor of Leeds† includes a small village about a mile from the town, but all the inhabitants bury here.‡

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.§

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 6, 1771.

I HAVE just received a packet from you, the contents of which are exceedingly agreeable to me. The articles for the Repository|| are already in the hands of the printer for the next number. When articles are short, and tend to set any part of the evidences of Christianity in a new or clearer point of light, I am glad to receive them, though the thoughts be not absolutely original; but the more truly original any thing is, the more proper it certainly is for the purpose of the Repository. If you have any other short articles similar to these, they will be very acceptable to me.

Your scheme of a Life of Socinus¶ strikes me very much as peculiarly seasonable at this time; but you overrate my acquaintance with history, if you imagine I am able to direct

did it recompense Dr. Priestley, in a pecuniary point of view, especially as he had gone to considerable expense with a view to the completion of his extended plan.

"To him, indeed, though pecuniary loss was a serious evil, pecuniary profit was a consideration of small importance. His motives to literary labour seem uniformly to have arranged themselves as follows: utility, reputation, profit." *Mem.* 8vo. p. 286.

* Probably Adam Walker, whose name will appear in the later correspondence.

† See *supra*, p. 149.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Taunton, afterwards of Birmingham, where he died, July 23, 1815, aged 75. See M. R. X., XI., *indexes*.

|| "Observations on some Incidents in the Life of Christ," A. N., in 3 parts. *Theol. Repos.* III. 301. A. N. had appeared, *ibid.* II. 290, in "Observations on the Fall of Peter." See M. R. X. 674, *note* †.

¶ "Memoirs of the Life, Character, Sentiments, and Writings of Faustus Socinus, 8vo. 1777." See *supra*, p. 69, *note* *.

you to any materials for it. Besides, a critical life is not the thing I wish to see so much as a plain and judicious narrative, calculated to give a favourable idea of his principles, and to inspire the lukewarm Freethinkers among us with a greater zeal for truth, and more serious endeavours to promote it. But I have no occasion to say any thing on this subject, as your views are exactly the same with mine.* I have expressed myself pretty strongly with respect to the prevailing indifference to important truth, in an additional section in the new edition of the "Address to Dissenters as such;" but I do not meet with many persons who see these things in the same light with myself.†

As far as I have had time to look into your Sermons,‡ I think them well calculated to do good, and more practical treatises similar to them would be very useful. But it is hardly possible for one person to direct or assist another in schemes of this nature. To a person who is disposed and qualified for works of this kind, particular objects will occur, and he will execute them to more advantage when the schemes are his own.

* As appears in the following passage of his letter from "Taunton, Oct. 5, 1772," to Dr. Calder:

"Some of my acquaintance, I understand, rather wonder what I propose by a life of Socinus. A mere account of his sentiments, life, and death, they say, will be of no service to the literary world, and will not be desired by the generality; an interesting life will require great pains, and needs the use of a large library. I apprehend your opinion, and that of those to whom I have communicated my plan, is very different on this matter; and therefore I am inclined to pursue my design without attempting a work merely calculated for the *literati*, and yet something that may, to the generality, be interesting and new; not so much a *critical* as a *popular* life of this injured person, with a view to hold him forth to esteem and imitation." Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* IV. 845.

† See *supra*, pp. 124, 125.

‡ Perhaps "Sermons principally addressed to Youth, 2nd Ed. 1789;" a "former impression several years before." M. R. X. 675. The author had published about this time,

"The Observations of Festivals and Holy Days considered. Preached on Christmas Day, 1770." And "The Manner of contending for the Faith considered. To which is subjoined, A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Rooker, [tutor of a Calvinistic academy, Bridport,] occasioned by his Sermon on the same Subject, 1771." *Ibid.* X. 671.

As the frank will contain them, I inclose for your amusement two small pieces, which I wrote for the use of the common people in this neighbourhood. The fancy of selling them for a penny has given them a very great run. We have sold near three thousand of the Appeal, and two thousand of the other pamphlet. Three answers are already published,* so that you may think I have enough upon my hands.

I have these two summers been giving familiar lectures to the youth of my congregation, on the foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion. I am now revising and enlarging the short text I made use of for that purpose, and may, perhaps, publish it with a discourse, on the best method of communicating religious knowledge in such societies as ours.†

If you have not begun already, I hope you will soon set about the Life of Socinus, and I shall be very glad to hear of the progress you make in it. As you have a school,‡ you must be pretty fully employed; but an obligation to do business soon makes it habitual and easy, and generally those persons do the least who have the least to do.

I promise myself much satisfaction from your occasional correspondence.§

TO DR. PRICE.||

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 23, 1771.

I HAVE just received the printed sheets of my History, and the view of the margin makes me regret exceedingly that the work could not have had the benefit of your revisal before it was printed.

* See *supra*, pp. 74, 147.

† See *supra*, p. 125.

‡ In which I was for some time a scholar; and I have been always gratified by any occasion of testifying my regard to the memory of such a kind and attentive early instructor. In later years, till his justly regretted decease, I enjoyed his valuable friendship and his occasional society and correspondence. Nor can I forbear here to repeat a remark written several years since, that Dr. Toulmin's life had well exemplified what his pen had delineated, from the apostolic scriptures, "The Practical Efficacy of the Unitarian Doctrine." See W. II. 419.

§ *Orig.* MS., kindly communicated, (with several letters of later dates,) by Dr. Toulmin's family.

|| "At Newington Green."

The most considerable of your remarks, I observe, relates to my objection to Newton's "fits of easy reflection and transmission,"* as you think he doth not suppose that the rays are in those fits in the whole of their progress. P. 257, 8vo.,† you will find these words: "Light is in fits of easy reflection and easy transmission, before its incidence on transparent bodies. And probably it is put into such fits at its first emission from luminous bodies, and continues in them during all its progress. For these fits are of a lasting nature," &c. I therefore think that all my objections must be well founded. Boscovich, also Mr. Melville and Mr. Michell, understood him in that sense.‡

It was absolutely necessary to abridge Newton, but I never ventured to do it, unless I imagined at least that I did not make his sense less clear; but I may be mistaken in that imagination. I am sure I spared no pains to understand him myself, or to make his meaning intelligible to others.

I own that the more I consider the experiments of Abbé Mazeas on "thin plates,"§ the less I see in them. All your remarks will be useful to me if ever there be a second edition of the work; but I think it will hardly be worth the while to cancel the leaves for the sake of them. I beg you would continue your remarks with the same or greater freedom. In about a month we shall finish the whole, and it must take its chance with many imperfections about it, but none of much consequence that I could have obviated. I have really done my best. To strangers I hope you will speak as favourably of my work as you can.

I do not think that I have made less than twenty seemingly decisive experiments in favour of the curing of putrid air by fixed air. In those that failed nothing was wanting, I now believe, but more time. Air that kills instantly, after being kept in water three and four months, is made wholesome by this means; but it generally requires longer time than fresh-made putrid air. The reason why lime water does not grow turbid when brimstone is burnt over it is, that the fixed air in

* P. 306.

† Optics.

‡ See pp. 308, 311.

§ "First published in the Berlin Memoirs for 1752." *History*, p. 498.

the common mass unites with the oil of vitriol, and, together with the lime, makes a *selenites* soluble in water. This I have found by evaporating the water. Air in which candles have burnt out, though seemingly greatly reduced in bulk, is, I think, rather lighter than common air.

I find the most astonishing diminution of air, in which I put a mixture of steel filings and pounded brimstone, even though the whole process is in quicksilver, and there is nothing that I can see to absorb it. That air is also of a most noxious quality. It kills instantly, after keeping near a month, whereas air in which brimstone only has burnt presently becomes breathable.

I think I have lately found a remarkable difference in the putrid effluvia in different stages of putrefaction, and that its noxious quality is by no means in proportion to its offensiveness to the nostrils.

It is evident, that in air that kills instantly, (as that in which animals have before breathed and died,) other animals do not die for want of any *pabulum vitæ*, but it contains something of a stimulating nature, by which the animal is thrown into convulsions, and which, when sheathed, or neutralized by some other substance, is fit enough for breathing again.

Missing a post, I have, since I wrote the above, made that very noxious air mentioned above perfectly wholesome, by fixed air, in several trials, but with this remarkable circumstance: the mass of air not miscible with water is doubled, or nearly tripled, after the mixture. I have just found a plant of a proper size, that grows very well in water at this time of the year, and am renewing my experiments with them.* I this day send more printed sheets by coach to Johnson. Two of the passages you have censured are in the words of Mr. Michell.† What you say is “by no means rightly expressed,” is his variation of Motte’s translation of Newton, which I had before used. I have not so often departed from Newton’s own words as you imagine; hardly ever, except to make his phrase more modern.‡

* See *supra*, pp. 148, 151.

† See *supra*, p. 78.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

TO THE SAME.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Dec. 5, 1771.

I CANNOT help communicating to you a proposal that Mr. Bankes† has just made to me, to accompany him in his‡ second voyage, in the character of astronomer, with a handsome provision secured to me and my family. I have so far listened to it as to desire to know what terms can be procured for me. I wish to have your real thoughts, and that of some others of my friends, on the subject, as I am far from being determined. My favourite employment is that of a minister,§ but, I doubt not, my place would be supplied till my return, and retirement will be necessary to the execution of my schemes, which I could resume with peculiar advantage after my return. I wish you would see Mr. Vaughan, or Mr. Lee, on the subject. The proposal|| came to me through the hands of Mr. Lee and Mr. Eden.¶

Since I wrote to you I have had undoubted proofs of inflammable air losing its inflammability, extinguishing flame, and killing animals, and afterwards being made breathable by fixed air. I can also render fixed air not miscible with water,

* "At Newington Green."

† See *supra*, pp. 79, 80.

‡ Captain Cook's. Mr. Bankes did not make "a second voyage," nor does he appear to have designed it.

§ See *supra*, p. 68.|| Which was presently revoked. See *supra*, p. 80. Mr. Lindsey, writing to Mr. Turner, from "Catterick, Dec. 21, 1771," having mentioned their "good friend Dr. Priestley," thus proceeds:

"I must begin with what strikes me most in yours, the disappointment of that worthy person. Twenty years ago, one so singularly qualified for the employment might have been chosen, and his dissent in religious points no objection. But I think our *public* has been retrograde, in those respects, ever since, and we shall become less liberal, ere we are more so, unless this clerical, &c., attempt stop the growth of ignorance and bigotry, and bring forward better principles.

"When you see Dr. Priestley, pray remember mine and my wife's best respects to him and his. I dare say he will very soon shake off every uneasy reflection relating to his late disappointment. For his temper seems formed not to expect too much from the world, or, at least, not to be hurt at not meeting with much." *Orig. MS.*

¶ Afterwards, I apprehend, Lord Auckland.

but permanently elastic, and wholesome to breathe, by another most noxious air,* but have not time to mention the particulars.†

TO REV. NEWCOME CAPPE.‡

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Feb. 12, 1772.

THE Repository was quite printed off when your letter came to hand; so that it is impossible that the article you mentioned should be noticed in this number. I am sorry to give up this work,§ but the scheme you mention would never answer. Many of our purchasers think it too dear already. However, I expect to be in London in about five weeks, and shall consult with my friends there about it, and shall not give it up if it can be saved.

Are you at leisure to peruse the quantity of a small volume, 12mo., of the Evidences|| of Christianity? It is a continuation of my Institutes. I think myself exceedingly obliged to you for the great attention you gave to the first volume, which gave me an opportunity of improving it very considerably. If you be at leisure, I will send it to you before I go to London; otherwise I will either leave it with you, or send it when I return. I will not publish it without your examination.

If I can get a number of the Repository made up, I will send one with this. Lest the Arians should have it all to themselves, I have given two Socinian sketches, signed *Clemens* and *Liberius*.¶

I wish you much happiness in the addition to your family. Can I do any thing for you in London?***

* See *supra*, p. 149.

† Orig. MS.

‡ See *supra*, p. 80.

§ In which the only article attributed to Mr. Cappe is in a single page, signed *Cautus*; "A Remark on Observations on the Fate of Judas." *Theol. Repos.* I. 292. See M. R. XII. 601, 602.

|| Forming the second volume, published 1773. See W. II. 65—230. At the end of the third number of *Theol. Repos.* Vol. III., after noticing the publication of *Institutes*, Vol. I. is the following:

"N.B. The second volume of this work will contain a View of the Evidences of Revelation; the third, the Doctrines of Revelation; and the fourth, an Account of the Corruptions of Christianity."

The last was published separately, in 1782. See W. V., *passim*.

¶ *Theol. Repos.* III. 344, 376.

** Orig. MS. See *supra*, p. 81 note.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, March 2, 1772.

I DO not desire to be informed of the reason of your late silence, as, I doubt not, it was a very good one; and I have not the least inclination to hear any thing of the nature of a secret.† I shall be very happy, however, in any opportunity of seeing and conversing with you, especially on the subject of your late application to Parliament,‡ and your present prospects.

* In answer, probably, to a letter thus noticed by Mr. Lindsey, writing "Feb. 28," to Mr. Turner:

"I inclose this in one to our good friend at Leeds, with whom I have to make my peace for my late omissions." *Orig. MS.*

† The following message "to Dr. Priestley," in a letter to Mr. Turner, from "Catterick, Nov. 1, 1771," may refer to this subject:

"I do not write to him at present on account of a little storm that has lately happened, but which I hope will soon blow over; and also on another account of my own, which I shall explain to him whenever I see him." *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *supra*, pp. 144—146, *notes*. Mr. Lee to Mr. Turner, from "Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 31, 1772," says,

"On Wednesday Mr. Lindsey did me the favour to dine with me, in company with Sir William Meredith, who is to present the petition; Lord John Cavendish and Sir George Savile having declined to present it, thinking themselves not enough versed in the subject.

"I do not believe the friends of Lord Rockingham will appear active in this business. I am sorry for it, because I think the cause would have done them honour, and the desertion of it will lose them many friends.

"I just hear that Colonel Burgoyne will support the petition. I don't wonder at it; for I lent him, about a week ago, Dr. Chandler's book on subscription, which he much approves." *Orig. MS.* The rest of this letter Mr. Belsham has published, *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 51—53.

To Mr. Turner, "Saturday night, London, Feb. 7, 1772," Mr. Lindsey writes,

"Lest our friend Mr. Lee should not have found time to write, I must say a few words on the great affair of Thursday last. The debate lasted full eight hours, from half-past two to eleven.

"Lord North declared, and it plainly appeared, that it was resolved to receive our petition, treat it and us civilly, but move to have it lie upon the table for six months, i. e. for ever; but Sir Roger Newdigate's violence against us and our cause disconcerted the plan, and brought on a debate, which entered gloriously, into the merits of our cause.

"Burke declaimed most violently against us in a long speech, but entirely

I most sincerely wish you success, and hope what you are doing cannot fail to produce good effects.

You must permit us Dissenters, however, who are not used to the idea even of *spiritual* superiors, to smile at your scheme, as an application to the powers of this world for a reformation in the business of religion. As the disciple of a Master whose kingdom is not of this world, I should be ashamed to ask any thing of temporal powers, except mere peace and quietness, which, being temporal blessings, they may bestow ; but I should be sorry to make any application to them which should imply an acknowledgement of their having other kind of power. The more I think of an application to such an House of Commons, or such a Parliament as ours, on the subject of religion, the more does the absurdity of it strike me. But I shall say no more on this subject, lest I should offend you. I really did not mean to say so much.

On Tuesday sennight, i. e. the 10th inst., I set out for London, where I shall stay five weeks (at Johnson's).

like a Jesuit, full of Popish ideas :—the multifarious, strange compound of the book called the Scriptures ; the uncertainty of what were the Scriptures ; the necessity of a priesthood ; of men in society, religious as other, giving up their right of private judgment, &c., &c. It is said and suspected that this man spoke his patron Lord Rockingham's sentiments.

"As the times go, and the prodigious influence of the minister and bishops avowedly against us, seventy-one dividing for us is reckoned a respectable minority." *Orig. MS.* "Mr. Charles Fox," (*supra*, p. 146 *note*,) was in the majority of 217. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 53—62.

Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Jebb, "March 3," says, "Looking over Randolph the other day, I found that Lord North had *literally* stolen his speech from that doughty opponent of ours. By his lordship's conduct in our affair, and the subsequent *nullum tempus* bill, he seems wholly devoted to the bishops to do their pleasure. His reign and sway, however, may not last for ever ; and the truth of God, which has begun to shew itself, will prove an overmatch for his policy."

The following passage from the same letter is highly worthy of being here quoted, as confirming Dr. Priestley's judgment, (*supra*, p. 85,) and forming an interesting addition to the note †. Having acknowledged Mrs. Jebb's "zeal and labours for the best of causes," Mr. Lindsey adds,

"And in this my wife interests herself as intimately and sincerely as myself, for the love of the truth, which has ever been in her, and for which she is, and has ever been, willing to run all hazards, *me currentem incitans*, with all the powers she had." *Orig. MS.*

Mr. Hazlitt* says concerning the Archdeacon, "You may assure him from me, if you will, that my intelligence came neither directly nor indirectly from you. I had it first from a gentleman in the West, and afterwards from many others; so many indeed, that I supposed it to be universally known."

If you will be so good as to transmit the above few lines to the Archdeacon, it will save me the trouble of writing to him, which, as our correspondence seems to be closed, would not be agreeable, I believe, to him.†

I beg your acceptance of the two things inclosed, which I hope will come safe by the York newsman. You may pay the subscription money to Mr. Cappe, of York.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Mar. 9, 1772.

I AM truly sorry that I made the observation in my last on your application to Parliament, in which I am really much interested, and in the success of which I shall most sincerely rejoice. I cannot help thinking, however, that an application to temporal powers to remove religious grievances is a very different thing in those who continue in a state of voluntary subjection to them, and in those who never owned their authority. In the former case, a request to make any alteration seems to be a recognition of a power either to make it, or not to make it; whereas, in the latter case, it is only desiring a person to recede from a claim which never has been, and never will be, acknowledged. It is probable, however, that you and I may differ in several of our ideas on this subject, concerning

* Dissenting minister at Maidstone, whose son, the highly accomplished and most interesting writer, lately deceased, has been supposed, with great probability, to have described his father in "Political Essays," p. 284. See M. R. XV. 678.

Rev. William Hazlitt, in 1780, removed to Ireland, whence, in 1783, he emigrated to America. Returning after a few years, he became a preacher at Wem. He died at Crediton, his last residence, July 16, 1820, aged 84. *Ibid.* 677—679.

† Probably some reference to the "silence" and "little storm" and "secret." See *supra*, p. 159.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

which, in general, I refer you to the "Address to Dissenters as such," (2d ed. p. 74,)* which I wish you would read once more, in order to put yourself into good humour with me. I should be very sorry if this inadvertence should have displeased you, and affect a correspondence, from the revival of which I expect much pleasure and improvement.

Notwithstanding I am truly desirous to secure the continuance of your correspondence, I begin to find the writing of necessary letters rather burdensome, on which account I decline all correspondence as much as possible. I have just finished a pretty long letter in Latin to a professor at Upsal,† and another in French to an electrician at Como, in the Milanese, and not being used to write those languages, it is rather irksome to me. They both wrote to me to lay claim to certain discoveries, having seen a translation which has lately been made of my History of Electricity into French.‡ I am afraid I shall have more trouble of the same kind, and doing justice will by no means please all.

You seem to think that the Dissenters would succeed in an application to Parliament to get relieved from the obligation to subscribe, and that this would promote your business. I should be afraid that so many applications of the same kind would disgust our statesmen, as it might lead them to think that if they once begun that work, there would be no end of it; but this I say quite at random. I shall most heartily join in any thing for the relief either of ourselves or you; but I really thought you would wish us to keep off for the present. I shall hear more of it when I am in London.§ I rejoice in every thing that occasions a discussion of such important subjects.

* Where, having censured the conduct of "Dissenting ministers," who "conform to the Church of England," Dr. Priestley contrasts their case with that of "persons descended of members of the church, educated by clergymen, introduced into the ministry at an English university," &c., for whom "every allowance may reasonably be made." See W. XXII. 290, 291.

† Perhaps "Dr. Zetzell." See "History of Electricity," (1775,) I. 483.

‡ See *infra*, p. 169.

§ Mr. Pickard and Dr. Furneaux appear to have been the only Dissenting ministers who witnessed in the gallery of the Commons the discussion of

I shall send you five copies of my History, the next waggon, insisting on your accepting of one for yourself.

I shall be able to give you a better account of the Repository when I go to London. I never saw more than one copy of Elwall's Trial,* which was lent to me by a Quaker in this neighbourhood. I shall make inquiry about it in London. The Appeal, I am informed, makes the most noise in the West. An answer to it, from a thorough Calvinist in those parts, I received the day before yesterday. This is the fifth answer† I have seen. I have ready for the press, and shall print in London, a Familiar Illustration of all the Texts of which the Orthodox avail themselves. This will make a third pamphlet in the form of the Appeal, and complete the scheme of it. I shall send you a copy as soon as it is printed.

I inclose this in the last frank I have for you at present, but I shall get a fresh supply when I am in London.‡

the clerical petition. "In the course of the debate," says Mr. Belsham, "many of the speakers, and particularly Lord North, remarked, that had a similar application been made by the Dissenting clergy, they could see no reasonable objection."

On this encouragement there was an application to Parliament in 1773, which was not successful till 1779, if indeed that could be called success, which served, by the proffer or acceptance of a new mode of ministerial subscription, to recognize the magistrate's claim of interference. See W. XXII. 472; *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 66, 67; "Case of Dissenting Ministers," (1772,) p. 54, *infra*, p. 175.

* See *supra*, p. 74.

† The Rev. H. Venn (*supra*, pp. 73, &c.) was now again on the alert, having published a letter from "Yelling, March 2, 1772," containing a Trinitarian explanation of *Phil.* ii. 6, in opposition to the sense of the passage, which "the author of the Appeal, supposed to be Dr. Priestley, of Leeds, has the effrontery" to maintain, because "so barefaced an attempt, in the eyes of all who understand Greek, calls for animadversion." He says that the Appeal "is now circulated with the utmost assiduity;" and that "in aid of the clerical petition it was sent to the members of both Houses." *Lond. Chron.* XXXI. 261. See W. XXI. 13.

A still more eminent Calvinistic clergyman, Romaine, afterwards descended into this arena, of whom, writing to Mr. Jebb, "Oct. 29, 1774," Mr. Lindsey says,

"I think I told you of the Address to his parishioners on the Socinian publications, chiefly against Dr. Priestley's Appeal. It is printing, like the Appeal, in a penny size." *Orig.* MS.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

London, April 3, 1772.

I SNATCH a moment to inform you that I am just returned from the House of Commons, where the motion to bring in a Bill to excuse Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters from an obligation to subscribe any of the Thirty-nine Articles was carried triumphantly.

Sir Harry Houghton made the motion, and Sir G. Savile seconded it. It was opposed by Sir Roger Newdigate, and Dolben,* and the elder of the Foxes,† but they spoke miserably indeed. Mr. Burke spake admirably in our favour,‡ and Mr. Onslow, Mr. Montague, and several others, also spake well.

I am sorry, however, that our success was carried in such a manner as bodes your petition no good. Almost all the speakers laid great stress on the difference between your case and ours, contending for a strict establishment and a large toleration.

The bishops at first favoured us, then violently opposed, and now seem to acquiesce. Lord North was not present, and I believe the ministry wished us well.§

TO THE SAME.||

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, April 20, 1772.

I TAKE the first opportunity of informing you of my return from London, and desiring your acceptance of a small pamphlet which I printed when I was there.

Having now completed the scheme of the Appeal, I beg

* Members for Oxford University.

† On Charles Fox, see *supra*, p. 146, *note*.

‡ As in Feb. 1773. Yet see *supra*, pp. 159, 160, *note*.

§ *Orig. MS.* Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, "Catterick, April 12. I am glad the bench, after various tossings and oscillations to and fro, were quiet at last. But it is whispered that they will not be so quiet when it comes before them to decide upon it. Lord North's absenting himself was artful, and like a politic minister of state. Dr. Priestley was so good as to send me three lines, for which I am much beholden to him." *Orig. MS.*

|| "At Catterick."

you would look over the fourth edition and the Illustrations,* and give me any hints that may occur to you for their improvement, as I intend to print a neat edition of the whole in one, at the same time that the three pamphlets shall continue to be sold separately.

Our bill went triumphantly through the House of Commons,† but it is supposed the bishops may prevent its passing the House of Lords, though I should think they will hardly choose to bear all the odium of it. Whether we succeed or not, I hope some good will be done by our attempt as well as by yours.

I had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Jebb,‡ father of Mr. Jebb at Cambridge, and the intimate friend of Dr. Hartley. This gave me very great satisfaction. The story of Hartley's Observations having been written more at large, and the illustrations suppressed,§ is void of all foundation.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, April 21, 1772.

I WROTE to you yesterday by the newsman, and sent you a copy of my Familiar Illustration of Texts, &c., which I hope you will receive in due time.

I now trouble you about a business which has occurred since, and about which I wish you would apply to the Arch-

* Mr. Lindsey thus writes from "Catterick, April 24, 1772," to Mr. Turner :

"Our friend has sent me his *Illustrations*, in which I see a certain interpretation of *Phillip*. ii. 6 adopted, entirely new, but very probable and ingenious, and many other curious and useful explanations, which, I make no doubt, will help to open the blind eyes of many. Whatever others do, our friend does not put his candle under a bushel, but boldly and honestly holds it up, *in his own hand*, to give light to others as well as himself." *Orig. MS.* See W. II. 455, 465, 466.

† April 3, 1772, "without a division." See W. XXII. 441, *notes*.

‡ Dean of Cashel. He died Feb. 6, 1787, having not long survived his excellent son, who died on the preceding March 2, soon after the completion of his 50th year.

§ The direct contrary appears to have been the fact. See *supra*, p. 24, *note* *.

deacon. I hope that no difference we can ever have* will make either of us less ready to do one another any service in our power, or check our readiness to ask any favour.

A friend of mine losing his wife, by whom he had no children, privately married her sister, the relations on both sides very much approving of it. They are now desirous of avowing their marriage; but being apprehensive of trouble from the officers of the Spiritual Court, they desire to know what are the most prudent steps they can take to prevent or alleviate it. What is the worst they have to fear? Who are the persons the most likely to give them trouble; or can any thing be done by friendship or interest? They were married three years ago in London, and live in Leeds. They would apply to Parliament if they thought they could obtain a confirmation of the marriage. The sooner you can procure an answer to the above questions, the more you will oblige me and my friend.†

I am truly sorry to find that it has been given out that the Dissenters are no friends to the petition of the clergy, and can assure you that, as far as my acquaintance extends, it is altogether void of foundation.

We do think our case to be in some respects different from yours, and our request more reasonable. We ask no emolument, and therefore think it peculiarly hard to be burdened

* See *supra*, p. 161.

† The following answer appears to have been immediately sent, as I find it annexed in the Archdeacon's *autograph* to Dr. Priestley's letter:

"Please to acquaint Dr. Priestley that I know of no municipal law prohibiting the marriage of the wife's sister, and the ecclesiastical law hardly gives canonical authority to Archbishop Parker's degrees, so that I believe the spiritual court will hardly venture to molest his friends; and if they do, it would be advisable to move the King's Bench for a prohibition, on the strength of the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan's opinion, which the doctor may see at full length in Fry's pamphlet.

"You have a case in your neighbourhood of the same sort, where I was solicited to act *ex officio*, but I advised the complainant to be quiet, as we could do nothing, having no foundation to go upon. Mr. Frankland's case is well known. Something was attempted against him, but he paid no regard to it, and he remained in quiet possession of his wife till her death.

"I think the parties should be easy, and give themselves no trouble, for I am convinced, as the law stands now, they cannot be hurt; at the worst it is but shifting out of the jurisdiction where the process is commenced."

with conditions. But, as a reformation of religion, we see that our cause and yours are the same, and shall most heartily rejoice in your success, and wish that ours, if we obtain it, may promote yours, though we are afraid it will not. If we succeed, the bishops or the ministry may say to you, what they could not say before, "If you be not easy, go among the Dissenters: you will have a full toleration there. At least no subscriptions are required there."*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds.†

I THINK myself greatly obliged to you and the Archdeacon for your speedy and explicit answer to my query. It has made my friend very happy indeed.

I am also much obliged to you for your remarks on my Illustration. I wish I could have known them before. However, I shall avail myself of them, if the piece ever be reprinted. In the mean time I have printed a correction of the Illustration of *Rev.* i. 8, and pasted it after the preface.

I am sorry that it is not in my power to send Mr. Disney the things he has ordered. I expect, however, a considerable part of a new edition of the Appeal from London the next week, and I shall reprint Elwall's Trial here the next week, or the week following. I only wait to find the date of the trial, but have hitherto endeavoured in vain to procure it. Two letters, however, have lately been written to persons in Staffordshire for that purpose, and I am in hopes that one or other of them will succeed. To this edition I propose to subjoin extracts from Penn's Sandy Foundation Shaken.

I cannot help smiling at the anxiety you express about my apprehended controversy with Dr. Dawson,‡ not being able to

* *Orig.* MS.† About *April*. See *supra*, p. 165.

‡ Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, "April 24, 1772. I have mentioned to Dr. Priestley, but needlessly, I am persuaded, a report that had given me much concern, viz. that he was going to attack Dr. B. Dawson, in form, and, through him, our petition and the petitioners. I think Dr. Priestley has too much Christian spirit and benevolence to enter into a personal

imagine how it could be of any disservice to you as petitioning clergy. If I had written any letters to him, it would have been chiefly with a view to serve you, by taking that opportunity of setting in a strong light the evil and iniquity of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, in the case of a mind so enlightened as his. It is to me and my friends really surprising that you should imagine his case and yours the same, or that you derive any advantage from his joining you. If I be rightly informed, it operated otherwise in the House of Commons, in which his conduct was particularly alluded to. When all that he can say even of the Athanasian Creed is, that it is unhappily expressed,* it must surely appear very impertinent to trouble the Legislature on the subject. And what great hardship can he have to complain of, whose mind (as is apparent from what he has already done) is prepared to subscribe any articles whatsoever that may stand in the way of his preferment? Let him be asked if he would not repeat his subscription to-morrow with as little reluctance as he first made it? And yet this is the man who, though living in contradiction to every principle of the Confessional, is considered by the author of it as his best supporter in the controversy.† Were I the author of that work, I should think myself under a necessity of disclaiming all connexion with him. It was certainly petulant and foolish in him to attack me as he has done.‡ His brother Obadiah, who is one of my hearers, said to me upon the occasion, “I do not know what my brother meant by attacking you, but I know he hates the Dissenters.” I am afraid his case is that of one who hates the light because his deeds are evil.

What I said to Dr. Dawson, the physician, (from whom you must have had the intelligence you referred to,) was only to amuse myself, and hear what he would say. I also wished that he would let his brother know what I thought on the controversy at any time, much less into such a controversy at this time.” *Orig. MS.*

Dr. Dawson died 1814, aged 85. See W. XXII. 464, *note*; M. R. V. 325; IX. 506; Dr. Toulmin's *Hist. View*, p. 581.

* See on his “Socinianism under another name,” W. XIX. 521.

† See W. XXII. 469; *Confess* (1770,) *Advert.* p. vi; M. R. V. 325.

‡ See W. XXII. 464, 465.

subject; and I do not promise that I never will address a few serious letters to him in the public papers.* If I should do this, which however is very uncertain, you will be convinced that I am far from intending to hurt you; nor was there ever a more groundless or unreasonable suspicion in the world than that the rational Dissenters are not well-wishers to the petitioning clergy. As far as my acquaintance extends, (and when I was in London I had an opportunity of hearing a great deal upon the subject,) the case is altogether the reverse, even without any exception whatever. How your jealousy of us should have arisen I cannot conceive. I think the twelfth reason† you complain of very proper, and I think it is unreasonably captious to object to it. Dr. Furneaux, who drew up that case, is, I know, your sincere friend.

I have been very busy in my experiments, to perfect my method of impregnating water with fixed air; and yesterday I sent my papers and drawings to the Lords of the Admiralty, having been requested by them to make the communication to the commanders and surgeons of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, in which Messrs. Banks, &c., are to make their voyage.‡

The Appeal I find has been printed in Ireland. The translator of my *History of Electricity* into Low Dutch informs me that my *Essay on Government* has been translated into that language also, and that my writings in general are much read in Holland. The translation of my *History* into High Dutch, which has been done by a person of eminence at Berlin, will be valuable, I believe, on account of the notes; but the French translator seems to have had no other object but to abuse me and Dr. Franklin, in order to establish Nollet's theory.§ If you had any particular fondness for electricity, I would send you a

* *Sect. iii. of Dr. Priestley's "Letter of Advice,"* written from "Calne, July 1773," is on this subject. See W. XXII. 464—472.

† Mr. Lindsey thus writes to Mr. Turner, "Aug. 7, 1772. I am sorry to observe that, in the printed case, the Dissenters should give it, as a twelfth reason, that 'the reasons for which subscription is deemed necessary under an establishment, do not extend to the case of a toleration.' Had this reason been penned by Dr. Tucker, I should not have marvelled." *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *supra*, pp. 77, 80.

§ See "*History of Electricity*," (1775,) I. xxxi. xxxii.

number of letters which I have lately received from professors in foreign Universities, giving me an account of all that has been lately done in that branch of science. I am preparing for a third edition of my History.

Please to return my thanks to the Archdeacon for his opinion. By the way, Fry's pamphlet, we find, is out of print, and my friend is very desirous to see it.* Can you procure me a sight of it? Mr. Cappe can easily convey it to me. Besides, your York newsman lodges at the same house with ours.

I know you will excuse the freedom with which I have written some parts of this letter, and therefore I make no apology for it.†

TO THE SAME.‡

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, May 23, 1772.

I AM this moment informed of the fate of our bill,§ by Mr. Lee. The speakers were Lord Bruce, the Lord President, Lyttleton, Archbishop of York,|| Peterborough,¶ Llandaff,** London,†† and Oxford,‡‡ Earl of Chatham, Richmond, and Shelburne. No lay lords spake against the bill besides Lord Gower. The Contents were, 23, Proxies 6; the Non-Contents 73, Proxies 29.

The bishops present were 21, and unanimous, Dr. Law being at his college. Mansfield and Camden both voted for the bill, but neither of them spake.§§

* See *supra*, p. 166, note.

† Orig. MS.

‡ "At Catterick."

§ "May 18, upon motion by Lord Radnor, it was rejected." See W. XXII. 441, 442.

|| Drummond.

¶ Hinchcliffe.

** Barrington. See *supra*, p. 70, note.

†† Terriek.

‡‡ Lowth.

§§ "None will dare to deny," says Dr. Kippis, "that with us were the most able, judicious, and eloquent speakers. The two greatest of the lay lords divided for the commitment of the bill. On the one side were truth, reason, eloquence, justice, and religion; on the other, *pudet hæc opprobria dici potuisse*, most of the temporal peers, and all the bishops, all who were present, or who ordered their proxies." See "A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers," *Ed.* 2, (1773,) pp. 54, 55.

"The following extract of a letter received from a friend in town," which discovers very erroneous expectations, was sent by Mr. Lindsey from "Catterick, May 10th," to Mr. Turner:

I have seen Mr. Madan's letter, but feel no inclination at present to answer it. I wish you would do it for me.*

"I believe now the Bill will pass the House of Lords. The two R. R.'s most vehement against it are London and Lincoln. Warburton has changed his note. At the table of a friend, whom we have known near thirty years, the subject was brought up the other day, among other dishes of discourse, and the bishop's whole conversation was in favour of the Dissenters, whence I opine that whether he spoke his real sentiments or not, he most probably echoed those of his patron, Lord Mansfield, which alone weigh more than the whole bench of prelates. He intimated farther, that he should not be present on the occasion; on which our friend intimated that he thought it his lordship's duty to be so. The truth, I suspect, is, that the bishops, perceiving the bill will get through, in spite of all their efforts to stop it, are for edging off as decently as they can." MS.

Mr. Lindsey had derived, from another quarter, more correct information, thus writing to Mr. Jebb from "Catterick, April 17. I am told that the bench of bishops, after having been sometimes for, and sometimes against setting the Dissenters free, are now resolved to prevent them all they can." *Orig.* MS.

Rev. C. Rotheram (*supra*, p. 26) thus writes from "London, June 19, 1772," to Mr. Lindsey:

"We were deceived by an artful administration, who acted a double part, and meant nothing less, than that the bill should pass. An approaching election rendered it necessary to conciliate the good-will of the Dissenters. It was therefore suffered to pass quietly through the Lower House, and the more willingly, because they knew what reception it would meet with from the bishops, who were never friends to liberty and reformation.

"We now begin to remember their severities to our ancestors, and that when the law for burning heretics was repealed, [1677,] every bishop, except one, was against the repeal. However, I am told that some of them discover some marks of shame; for, finding the infamy of this unjust decision rest entirely upon their order, they are desirous to throw the blame upon Lord North's instructions."

"The Letter to Dissenting Ministers, called here the bishop's letter, is said to be written by Bishop Barrington, or under his auspices. You must have seen it, and found it to be a trifling piece, void of argument. Dr. Furneaux has it now under his consideration." *Orig.* MS. See "An Essay on Toleration, by Philip Furneaux, DD," (1773,) pp. 3—6, 49, &c.

* I know not whether Mr. Lindsey complied with this request, but a copy of the letter "from the London Evening Post of Thursday, April 30, 1772," is annexed to Dr. Priestley's, and in Mr. Lindsey's *autograph*. Mr. Madan's letter is addressed "to the author of a Familiar Illustration," &c. The tenor and spirit of the whole may be discovered by these concluding paragraphs:

"I cannot compliment you with saying you have advanced any thing new. Your Appeal, and your Illustrations, are nothing but a sort of hashed up

I found a number of pamphlets, sufficient to supply Mr. Disney, and sent them according to your direction, with a copy of the Illustrations, of which I beg his acceptance. I hope you will send me Fry* soon.†

TO THE SAME.‡

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you what is new in the second edition of the Triumph of Truth. It is the printer's rough proof, and if you

farrago, of the old *Racovian* Catechism, which, doubtless, you have perused. I wish you would carefully read over the edition of it published at Frankfort and Leipsic, 1739, by George Lewis Oeder, who has accompanied the doctrine it contains with a solid confutation.

"I am given to understand that you are a public teacher. You call yourself *a lover of the gospel*. In these two points your case is worse than that of Elymas; however, if the eyes of your body were as blind as the eyes of your mind, you would, as Elymas did, seek for *some to lead you by the hand*. That the spirit of God may lead you to the renunciation of your errors, and the acknowledgment of the truth, is the sincere prayer of—M. MADAN."

On this *Catechesis Racoviensis*, Dr. Rees says, "Mosheim speaks of Oeder's work as comprising "a solid refutation;" and this judgment has been adopted with implicit faith by more recent writers. The author certainly displays a very respectable share of learning, but is too fond of substituting exclamation and abuse for argument and demonstration." See "The *Racovian Catechism*," (1818,) *Hist. Introd.* pp. lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

The Rev. Martin Madan had been educated for the bar, which he exchanged for the Church, and became a highly popular Calvinistic preacher at the chapel of the Lock Hospital, where I remember to have heard him a few years after this period.

He was chiefly known as an author by *Thelyphthora*, advocating the lawfulness of polygamy among Christians; though denying the expediency, except for the prevention of "female ruin." In the *critiques* on this publication, (one of them ascribed to Badcock,) the author was not always fairly controverted, especially by theologians of his own persuasion.

To Mr. Madan have also been confidently attributed "Thoughts on Executive Justice, 1785," of a somewhat *Draconian* tendency. They soon called forth "Observations," which I have seen ascribed, on what authority I know not, to Romilly. They are, indeed, worthy of merciful men, preventers of crime, or restorers of criminals, rather than destructionists. "A Literal Translation of Juvenal and Persius," was, I believe, Mr. Madan's latest publication. He died 1790.

* See *supra*, p. 170.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ No place nor date, but Mr. Belsham has written "May, 1772."

answer immediately, I shall have an opportunity of hearing and attending to your remarks before it be printed off.

I flatter myself that the extracts from Penn will please you.* I am sorry that I have not room for more; but as they are only intended to give an idea of that man's sentiments, and of the free manner in which he expressed them, these may suffice. It will hardly be said that these, as well as the other, are an invention of my own. I have now got a few dates relating to Elwall's trial, which, I think, determine it to 1726. These I propose to print at the back of the title-page.

I fancy my friend Mr. Lee was mistaken, when he informed† me that only one lay-lord spoke against the Dissenters' bill. I have heard nothing from London about it since I wrote to you last, and therefore cannot tell you what will be done in consequence of it. Many of the ministers, I know, were displeased with the conduct of their committee, and when I left them, they did not expect to be thanked for their trouble. But the discontented were chiefly those who expected to have been of the committee themselves, or who disapproved of the declaration which was to have been substituted instead of the subscription.‡ A few of the orthodox, I believe, wished for no alteration. All, except these last, I doubt not, would join in an application to parliament by petition; but whether this method will be adopted I cannot tell. I never expect to see the Dissenters agree in any thing. Nor do I see how this can be more reasonably expected than that all establishments should agree. Besides, I rather think the managers in London will be tired out. To make the motion any where else would answer no end at all. So that, I imagine, things will remain as they are, unless the late noise should be echoed in a few pamphlets, in which I shall have no concern.

I dreamed, indeed, the last night, that I had addressed a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, (pray is he not Lord North's brother?)§ in which I said bolder things than I have yet done;

* These were omitted in later editions. See W. II. 417—429.

† *Supra*, p. 170.

‡ See *supra*, p. 163, *note*. Of this Dr. Priestley appears, at length, to have disapproved. See W. XXII. 442, 473, 485, 486.

§ He was Bishop of Litchfield, afterwards of Winchester.

but the whole scheme vanished with the dream. While this reluctance to controversial writing continues, you may be easy for Dr. Dawson;* but if ever the disposition to that kind of writing return, I may, perhaps, throw him, and half-a-dozen more, into one *Dunciad*.

This week, or the next, I print a small pamphlet, containing a description of my method of impregnating water, &c., with fixed air.† The drawings are in the engraver's hands.

We have begun to print the Repository, and I am afraid it will be the last number. It will contain some useful articles. We begin with a pretty large paper of Mr. Turner's, on the Doctrine of Atonement.‡ I have written a few more observations on the harmony of the evangelists,§ and may, perhaps, write something else.|| I have received an answer to Bereanus.¶

As I intend to republish the small pamphlets in one treatise, I wish you would keep an interleaved copy of them, and at your leisure suggest any corrections or improvements that may occur to you. I wish, also, you would take the trouble to look over what I have written on the Evidences of Christianity for the second volume of the Institutes. The papers are, at present, in Mr. Cappe's hands;** but I hope he will not keep them long.

Mr. Turner and I talk of paying a visit to Mr. Cappe; will you give us the meeting?††

* See *supra*, pp. 167, 168.

† See *supra*, pp. 76, 77.

‡ *Theol. Repos.* III. 385—433.

§ *Ibid.* 462—469.

|| Only a page by *Clemens*, and the conclusion. See *ibid.* 476—482.

¶ *Ibid.* 434—444. Under the same signature, *Rationalis*, immediately follows, "An Explanation of 1 *Pet.* iii. 19." The writer (according to M. R. XII. 527, 602) was Mr. Hazlitt, of whom see *supra*, p. 161. He also wrote, under the signature *Philalethes*, "Thoughts on Praying in the Name of Christ," and "Remarks on *John* i. 1." *Theol. Repos.* II. 159, 186.

** See *supra*, p. 158.

†† *Orig.* MS.

Since the note ||, *supra*, p. 89, passed through the press, I have observed "the decease of Mr. Merivale, in 1771," noticed by Rev. J. Manning, with "the recollection of the mild dignity of his character, the fairness and perspicuity with which he treated dissonant opinions, his zeal in encouraging free inquiry, and the methods he took to excite in his pupils the love of Christian truth and piety." See "Life of Towgood," (1792,) p. 67.

TO DR. PRICE.*

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, July 21, 1772.

I THINK myself exceedingly honoured by the very favourable opinion which Lord Shelburne's proposal† implies that he has entertained of me, as both from your own account, and that of others, I conceive him to be, for ability and integrity together, the very first character in this kingdom. But I really think it would not be in my power to render his lordship any services equivalent to the recompence which, in prudence, I ought to expect, if ever I leave Leeds; and I could not satisfy myself with receiving a salary, without rendering what should appear to myself an equivalent service.

My salary‡ exceeds that of most Dissenting ministers, and I may say that the whole of my time is at my own disposal, so that I can pursue what studies I please, without interruption. Indeed, my place is such, that, according to present appearances, the only motive I can ever have to remove is, that, agreeable as my situation is with respect to myself, it affords me no prospect for making any provision for a growing family. I have, therefore, thought, that if ever I do remove, it must be to America,§ where it will be more easy to dispose of my children to their advantage.

I flatter myself, indeed, that I might render his lordship

* "At Newington Green."

† See *supra*, p. 87. Mr. Morgan describes Dr. Price's "friendly connexion" with Lord Shelburne as having commenced "in 1769," on having read, "by the recommendation of Mrs Montague, the Dissertations on Providence, and the Junction of Virtuons Men in a Future State," while suffering under a severe domestic calamity. *Mem.* (1815) pp. 31, 32.

Mr. Rotheram writes to Mr. Lindsey from "Kendal, July 6, 1771. While I was in London, Lord Shelburne paid a friendly visit to Dr. Price, and entered into a free conversation with him for two hours. He professed a warm regard to the Dissenters, as friends of liberty, &c., and promised, if ever he came into power, to exert himself in supporting their rights, and placing them on the same footing with other Protestant subjects." *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 87.

§ Where the future site of Northumberland, Dr. Priestley's asylum, twenty-two years later, was then a pathless wilderness.

some service with respect to the education of his children, as that is a subject to which I have given very particular attention, and with respect to which I have had a good deal of experience; but every thing of this nature I consider as superseded by the tutor his lordship will choose for them; and whoever he be, it is not probable that he will submit to be directed by another.

It is true, that my reading and studies have had as great a range as, I believe, those of most people; but I imagine that the information which his lordship might occasionally want, would relate chiefly to things of a *political* nature, which I have not particularly studied, and require more acquaintance with modern history than I can pretend to.

But supposing that, by changing the course of my studies, I could become whatever his lordship wishes me to be, I am so habituated to domestic life, and am so happy at home, that it is not possible I should receive any compensation for not living in my own family. Or, if it could be compatible with his lordship's views, to compromise this article with me, his living partly in London and partly in the country, would make it impossible for me to take any advantage of officiating as a Dissenting minister, if any society in London should make choice of me, which, however, I do not think very probable; nor do I see from what other source I could benefit myself, except, perhaps, from reading lectures, either in natural philosophy, or the subjects on which I used to give lectures at Warrington.

Please to represent to Lord Shelburne my sentiments on the general view of his lordship's proposal. If he should think that the obstacles I have mentioned may be removed in a manner consistent with his own views, he shall find me very ingenuous and explicit on the subject.

You want to know what I am doing about air. I have lately resumed my experiments on that subject, with considerable success. I have perfectly ascertained the restoration of air, injured by respiration, putrefaction, or by the burning of candles, spirit of wine, or brimstone matches, by the growing of plants. For this purpose I have made use of mint, balm,

groundsel, and spinage, and have found that this effect depends upon the vegetating state of the plants. I have also discovered that air receives, in a great measure, the very same kind of injury from flame as from respiration, and but only about one-third in degree.*

The pamphlet I have printed† only contains directions for making Pyrmont water. I can make better than you import; and what costs you five shillings, will not cost me a penny. I might have turned quack. Several of my observations relate to air that has passed through burning charcoal. These and many others I am pursuing farther, and should oftener write to you on these subjects, but that I consider every correspondence as an additional burden to you.‡

TO REV. W. TURNER.§

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Aug. 24, 1772.

LORD Shelburne was at my house on Saturday, and urged his proposal with great importunity. He would give any terms that Dr. Price and myself should think reasonable. I told him that if I accepted of his proposal at all, I should be very well satisfied with the terms that Dr. Price had men-

* Among Mr. Lindsey's MSS. I find the following, in his hand-writing, without date, but evidently copied from one of Dr. Priestley's letters:

"I am going on with my experiments on air with uncommon success, for which I am not unthankful to the Giver of all knowledge.

"I have attained what I had no expectation of when I began these inquiries; i. e. the real constitution of the atmosphere, or the constituent principle of respirable air; and by the most complete investigation I have discovered the most essential ingredient to be the nitrous acid. By the help of this I can make the same things, or better, or worse, at pleasure.

"But though this has been lately a great object with me, it has not been so much as a *desideratum* with others, it having been taken for granted by all, that the common air was a simple principle, indestructible and unalterable. I have many more things in view, to which this discovery leads." See *Pref.* to "Experiments," (1790,) W. XXV. 373.

† See *supra* pp, 76, 77.

‡ *Orig.* MS. Dr. Priestley may, probably, refer in his conclusion either to Mrs. Price's indisposition, or to his friend's own bodily affliction. See Morgan's *Mem.* pp. 20, 21.

§ "At Wakefield."

tioned in his letter, as what he thought his lordship would have no objection to, viz. £250 per annum. This he said he would immediately settle on me for life; beside providing for me a house in town, and another in the country, adjoining to his own. The house in town is, he says, exactly such as let in that neighbourhood for £70 per annum. The services I might render him, he says, he hopes will not much interfere with my own pursuits, and, indeed, from his account of them, I do not think they would. We conversed some hours on the subject with great frankness, on both sides, and he said I might take what time I pleased, either to consider of the proposals, or, after accepting them, to leave my present situation.

In this situation things stand, and I cannot but say, that after this interview with his lordship, I am more disposed to listen to his proposals than I was before.

If I leave Leeds, it will not be to be more happy in myself, but to make better provision for my family, and not to be less useful in the world; and I do not see that I am doing more good here than another will do after me; probably less, on account of the odium of my sentiments.

One of the circumstances I shall regret the most will be the want of my intercourse with you, which has been a source of great satisfaction to me, as well as a necessary assistance in all my theological schemes.

But I depend upon seeing you early next Monday morning, when we will talk more on the subject.*

TO DR. PRICE.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Aug. 25, 1772.

ON Saturday last, Lord Shelburne, as you gave me reason to expect, called upon me, and he explained and enforced his proposal in such a manner, that I own I am much disposed to comply with it. He said he never thought of settling upon me less than £200 per annum for life, and would do as much more as you and myself should think reasonable. So we agreed upon the sum mentioned in your letter, £250. Besides,

* *Orig.* MS.

† "At Newington Green."

I am to have a house adjoining to his own in town, and another very near his seat in the country. If, however, we should like the situation in the country, it is probable we shall keep to it, myself only attending his lordship when he shall require my attendance in London. He gives me what time I think proper to consider of his proposals, and also to leave my present situation, after I have determined to do it.

I think, however, it will answer no good end, either to keep his lordship in suspense, or to stay long here after I am determined to go. So that, according to all appearances, I shall launch into a new sphere of life about Christmas next. I am fearful, however, lest, out of your friendship for me, you should have led his lordship to expect from me more than I shall be able to fulfil. I shall always reflect upon your friendship with equal gratitude, whether the issue be happy or otherwise.

If I should leave Leeds, can you recommend a successor, as my opinion will probably be asked on the subject? The person I had thought of is invited to preach as a candidate at Birmingham.

I have made very considerable progress in my experiments since I wrote to you last, of which I have given some account in a letter to Dr. Franklin,* which I have desired him to transmit to you.

I have lately heard of a circulating letter of the Dissenting Committee being seen in Cheshire, but we know nothing of it here.†

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will blame me, and with great appearance of justice, for neglecting your correspondence so long. The truth is, that I have been so much engaged in pursuits foreign to yours, that I had nothing of consequence to communicate to you. I really have neither read nor written any thing this long time; but I have been uncommonly successful in my experiments on

* See *supra*, p. 148.

† *Orig. MS.*

the subject of air. I was sensible also, that, with respect to questions of theology, and the state of religious liberty, &c., Mr. Turner's correspondence would be of more value to you than mine could be.

I have not yet seen Dr. Kippis's pamphlet, but am truly sorry that he should have given occasion to a letter,* which I see addressed to him in the public papers. I flatter myself, however, that you will not have the less favourable hearing from appearing to have had no connexion with us. In the end, this little difference may be of service to both. Our supposed agreement was certainly of disservice to both. But, indeed, whether we agree or disagree, a handle will be made of it to our common prejudice.

I must now come to a subject more immediately interesting to myself. Lord Shelburne has made repeated proposals to me by Dr. Price, and last week in person, to be his librarian, and superintend the education of his sons, having a tutor under

* To this "Letter," probably, Dr. Kippis refers in an "advertisement to the second edition," where he says,

"If any passages, which are the subject of some late strictures, should appear to be altered in the present edition, the author begs leave to observe, that not a single alteration hath arisen from those strictures, and that every correction but one was sent to the press before he had seen them." *Vindication*, p. viii.

Dr. Kippis disavows what, indeed, was highly improbable, any "design to injure the cause of the petitioning clergy," (see *supra*, p. 169,) by remarking that, in the late discussions, "the reasons alleged for the continuance of subscription were applied only to those who receive the emoluments of a national Church; in which he would have "the difficulties to which upright men are exposed wholly removed, and the terms of ministerial conformity reduced to the Christian and Protestant standard." *Ibid.* pp. 12, 13.

My excellent and generally liberal-minded friend had not, I suspect, completely recovered from the late Protestant panic. (See *supra*, p. 108.) And what, indeed, has been this "Protestant standard," but a creed "suited to the varying hour;" whatever a dominant theological party had the power to enforce by pains and penalties, varying through all the gradations of injustice, from death to disability. Yet "the Bible, the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants;" a vaunt, or rather a fallacy, thus concisely exposed by an anonymous writer 80 years ago: "Search the Scriptures. Believe what you find to be right; but nothing is right besides what we believe." See "The Reflector: representing Human Affairs as they are, and may be improved," (1750,) pp. 332, 333.

me; and also to collect information for him with respect to subjects of parliamentary discussion, &c., &c. He will immediately make a very handsome settlement upon me for life, and provide me a house adjoining to his own, both in the town and country. In the mean time he gives me what time I choose, both for accepting the proposal, and removing from my present situation. He has also no objection to my continuing to preach wherever I may have opportunity. He does not expect to engage much of my time, and hopes I may prosecute all my own pursuits with more advantage. I own that I am inclined to accept of this proposal, and I am satisfied that I am doing no more good in my present situation than another may do, and less than many others, by reason of my being more particularly obnoxious on account of my religious sentiments.

As you know the world much better than I do, I shall be obliged to you for any hints that you may be able to suggest for the government of my conduct in this affair, on which my future happiness and usefulness must very much depend.

I have been obliged, you will see, to close the Repository, with proposals to reprint the first volume by subscription. I lose more than £30 by the last, but when complete sets can be had, I hope I shall be in the way of being indemnified.*

I found it inconvenient to make the alteration you proposed in the arrangement of the Triumph of Truth, and as there is great difference in taste with respect to these things, I hope you will not be much dissatisfied with it in its present form.

* At the end of Mr. Radcliffe's "Letters to the Prelates," published by Johnson, (1773,) is the following advertisement :

"This day is published, in 3 vols. price 18s. in boards, (having been formerly published in numbers by Dr. Priestley,) The Theological Repository, consisting of original essays, hints, queries, &c., calculated to promote religious knowledge.

"These three volumes will be found to contain such original and truly valuable observations on the doctrine of *atonement*, the *pre-existence of Christ*, and the *inspiration of the Scriptures*, more especially respecting the Harmony of the Evangelists, and the reasoning of the Apostle Paul, as cannot fail to recommend them to those persons who wish to make a truly free inquiry into these important subjects."

Mr. Turner and I have fixed to be at York on Monday next, to stay over Tuesday, and should be happy in meeting you there.*

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR,

London, Sept. 19, 1772.

IN the affair of so much importance to you, wherein you ask my advice, I cannot, for want of sufficient premises, counsel you *what* to determine; but, if you please, I will tell you how.

When those difficult cases occur, they are difficult, chiefly, because, while we have them under consideration, all the reasons *pro* and *con* are not present to the mind at the same time; but sometimes one set present themselves; and at other times another, the first being out of sight. Hence the various purposes or inclinations that alternately prevail, and the uncertainty that perplexes us.

To get over this, my way is to divide half a sheet of paper, by a line, into two columns, writing over the one *pro*, and over the other *con*: then during three or four days' consideration, I put down under the different heads short hints of the different motives that at different times occur to me *for* or *against* the measure. When I have thus got them altogether in one view, I endeavour to estimate their respective weights, and where I find two, (one on each side,) that seem equal, I strike them both out. If I find a reason *pro*, equal to some *two* reasons *con*, I strike out the *three*. If I judge some *two* reasons *con*, equal to some *three* reasons *pro*, I strike out the *five*; and thus proceeding, I find at length where the balance lies; and if after a day or two of farther consideration, nothing new that is of importance occurs on either side, I come to a determination accordingly. And though the weight of reasons cannot be taken with the precision of algebraic quantities; yet, when each is thus considered, separately and comparatively, and the whole lies before me, I think I can judge better, and am less liable to make a rash step; and, in fact, I have found great

* *Orig.* MS.

advantage from this kind of equation in what may be called *moral* or *prudential algebra*.

Wishing sincerely that you may determine for the best, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.*

TO DR. PRICE.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Sept. 27, 1772.

YOU think much too well of me, and are too much concerned about me. I am truly sorry for the trouble you have given yourself on my account, as it is not now likely to answer the friendly design you had in it.

I thought it right to send you Mr. Johnson's letter. It was the first remonstrance I received upon the subject. After that, Mr. Lee talked to me in much the same strain, except that, upon the whole, he seemed inclined to think favourably of the Earl of Shelburne's character. I also find that Sir John Pringle, and others, are of opinion that the state I should be brought into would be too dependant and humiliating, and not leave me sufficiently master of my own conduct.

For my own part, I do think that, if I be capable of doing any good in the world, exclusive of my own private interest, I can do it to the most advantage in my present situation. It is true that my schemes lead me into a variety of expenses, and put it out of my power to do much for my family; but my children, by the favour of a good Providence, may do as I myself have done, who had not a single farthing besides my education to set out with.‡

As to the History of Experimental Philosophy, it does not appear, from Mr. Johnson's last account of the sale of my History of Vision, &c., that it will be worth my while to prosecute it any farther.§ I may, perhaps, indeed, at my leisure, write the history of discoveries relating to air, because I shall have particular advantages in doing it, in consequence of having made so many observations of my own on the subject. I mean, how-

* *Mem. of Franklin*, (1818,) II. 12.

† See *supra*, pp. 32, 33.

‡ "At Newington Green."

§ See *supra*, pp. 151, 152.

ever, to prosecute my experiments as I have opportunity, keeping off such as would involve me in much expense.

I have been long bewildered with a multiplicity of new appearances of an extraordinary kind; but I think that I now begin to see a little into the nature of them, and am not without hopes that, after another summer's course, I shall be able to give a much better account of them than I can at present. I have been improving my electrical apparatus, with a view to some experiments of that kind this next winter. From a globe which I fitted up this day, I can make a dozen or twenty pencils* fly off at a time, a sight which, I fancy, was never seen before.

I am desirous of getting subscriptions to the first volume of the Repository, as the reprinting of it might make more sets go off. At present I lose £50 by that work. Myself and a few of my friends wrote the greatest part of it. It was a favourite scheme of mine, but I was obliged to give it over.

Can you tell me any news of Dr. Harwood?† I hear he left Bristol, and is in London.

TO THE SAME.‡

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 11, 1772.

PLEASE to transmit the inclosed papers to Mr. Pickard.§ The ministers in this neighbourhood are a very mixed body, many of them rigid Calvinists, and much influenced by Mr. Hitchin.|| They came to oppose and wrangle; but by judicious and fair management they were brought, not only to make no opposition, but to acquiesce in every thing we proposed. We were obliged, however, to divide, subdivide, and distinguish, as you will perceive by our minutes.

* "*Pencils*, the appearance of electric light issuing from the point of a body electrified positively." *Introd. to Electricity*, p. 84.

† See *supra*, p. 44.

‡ "At Newington Green,"

§ Chairman of the Committee for the repeal. See *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 64.

|| Who had just published the grounds of his opposition in a Letter, "Oct. 30, 1772," entitled, "Free Thoughts on the late Application of some Dissenting Ministers to Parliament."

I still continue inclined to accept of Lord Shelburne's proposal,* notwithstanding I have heard more said against it than I have yet communicated to you; and I cannot help thinking that it will put me more in the way of being useful both to my family and the world than I can be in my present situation. This, I observe, that those who are acquainted with Lord Shelburne encourage me to accept of his proposal; but most of those who know the world in general, but not Lord Shelburne in particular, dissuade me from it. All of them also greatly overrate my present situation, of which myself only can be a judge, and by comparison with which I must estimate any other situation.

I hope to see you the first week in December, having agreed to take part in a chaise, in company with Mr. Lindsey and another petitioning clergyman. We expect to be in London on the Tuesday night or Wednesday morning, and on that day I propose to wait upon you.

I intend to send to Mr. Johnson's and you by the first coach copies of the second volume of my *Institutes*; and, if you have time, could wish you would give it a perusal before it goes into the world.

I sent my papers for the Royal Society by a private hand on Tuesday last, (this day sennight,) to be delivered by Mr. Johnson to Dr. Franklin, and by him to be sent to Dr. Maty. I hope they are arrived, though I have this day received a letter from Dr. Maty, desiring me to send them as soon as I can get them ready.

I am still making a few experiments, the account of which I propose to bring with me. They will be a kind of appendix to the papers I have sent up, containing an account of all the kinds of air, got by all the acids, from all the metals and semi-metals, most of which I have got from Mr. Michell. Bismuth and Nickel give nitrous air, and regulus of antimony, part nitrous air, and part that which shrinks up at the contact of water. Platina is very intractable.

I have just found, to my great surprise, that a quantity of

* On which Dr. Price had, no doubt, written since "Sep. 27."

air, which I got about a year ago from saltpetre, and which was then quite wholesome, and in which a candle burned perfectly well, is now become in the highest degree noxious, and makes no effervescence with nitrous air. It stood in water; and common air, in the same circumstances, I find not to be injured at all in the same time.*

TO THE SAME.†

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Nov. 26, 1772.

I GIVE you this line to inform you that I do not now expect to be in town before Wednesday, and probably late at night. Being disappointed of Mr. Lindsey's company, I think to take the York stage-coach. I shall be engaged to dine on Thursday; and if I do not see you in the morning of that day, I shall depend upon seeing you in the evening at the Royal Society.

There was, I recollect, an omission in the copy I sent you of our letter to Sir G. Savile. After the first paragraph, ending with "Articles of the Church of England," add, "and to procure relief for Dissenting tutors and schoolmasters."

The last course of experiments I mentioned to you I have pursued considerably farther, but the results are too particular to be recited in a letter. I propose this day to draw up an account of them, together with a supplement to my chapter on nitrous air, and that of the miscellaneous experiments for the Royal Society. I shall inform you that I have found, to my great surprise, that this vapour of spirit of salt, which is always reckoned the weakest of all the mineral acids, has never failed to dislodge the other two, and seize upon their bases. It decomposes alum and nitre, and joining itself to the phlogiston of sulphur, becomes inflammable air. It also extracts phlogiston from the rust of iron, and the precipitate of copper, and by that means also becomes inflammable air.

I think I told you that the air which I extracted from nitre, and which was at first wholesome and good, had, in the course of a year, become highly noxious. By washing it in rain

* *Orig. MS.*

† "At Newington Green."

water a few minutes it became again as good as any air in the world, and a candle burned in it perfectly well. This fact appears more extraordinary to me than it can do to you, or any body else.

I cannot help flattering myself that the prosecution of these experiments will lead me or others into a farther insight into the constitution of the atmosphere, and also to a farther knowledge of the nature of metals and acids, &c.*

Upon looking over this letter I think it will be in vain to send it to any of our friends, as I think they will not be able to read it.† If you can do it, who are more used to my hand, I shall be very glad.‡

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.§

DEAR SIR,

London, Dec. 15, 1772.

I THANK you for the pleasure I have received from the perusal of your very sensible and candid discourse on the subject of baptism,|| and much wish to see those that followed it. I shall not fail to return them without loss of time. You will excuse my not making any particular remarks, as I dare say that neither your engagements nor mine will admit of our entering into a full discussion of the subject.¶ With this I send a copy of the second volume of my Institutes, of which I beg your acceptance.

I would have written more largely, but coming to town to settle one affair only, viz. with Lord Shelburne, I stay a very

* See *supra*, p. 177, note *.

† Dr. Priestley is here unjust to himself; for I have found no peculiar difficulty in ascertaining every word of this letter. His hand-writing, indeed, as the *fac-simile* accompanying these Memoirs will discover, was far removed from the peculiarly neat and exact penmanship of Porson. It was yet extremely legible, compared with the tantalizing *autographs* of Parr, in attempting to decipher which I have had occasionally some experience.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

§ Taunton.

|| "A Practical Discourse on the Moral Uses and Obligations of the Institution of Baptism," published 1773, probably now in MS. See M. R. X. 671.

¶ See *supra*, p. 111, note.

short time,* and every moment is taken up. I think his proposals very generous, and have accepted of them, and hope that I shall be in the way of doing more good both to my family and to the world.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, Feb. 15, 1773.

I AM sorry to inform you that your recommendation came too late, the people here having unanimously invited Mr. Wood, of Ipswich, to succeed me, and he having accepted the invitation.‡ Indeed, though I had no previous knowledge of Mr. Wood, except by character, yet he was so early and so strongly recommended to us by Dr. Price, Dr. Kippis, and others, that any other recommendation would have been ineffectual.

I have been exceedingly happy at Leeds, and though upon

* Dr. Priestley had returned to Leeds by "Dec. 20," when he addressed to "the congregation" his letter of resignation. See W. XV. 8—11.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Remaining in that connexion, deservedly respected, till his decease in 1808. See "Memoirs of Rev. W. Wood, F.L.S. By C. Welbeloved," (1809,) pp. 15—18; W. XV. 27; *Athenæum* III. 480; M. R. III. 220, 229, 397.

The place in which the congregation assembled was thus described in 1797:

"Mill-Hill chapel, which is said to have been the first built in the North of England after the general indulgence, was erected in 1672, and belongs to the party denominated Presbyterians. The celebrated Dr. Priestley presided here for a number of years; and the Rev. W. Wood is its present minister.

"This chapel, incrustured over with grey plaister, and shaded by trees, has an interesting appearance, well according with the modest simplicity of rational religion." *History of Leeds*, pp. 4, 6. See W. XV. 25.

Among the "epitaphs in the chapel-yard" is the following, "in memory of Frederic Wood," containing a happy adaptation from the *Pollio*. It was, probably, connected with the family of Dr. Priestley's successor:

Ah! dulcis puer, in hoc ævo fuisti.

Sed

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo:

In illis, dulcior et felicius eris.

the whole I think I do right to leave it, I shall do it with great regret. It is a considerable satisfaction to me, however, to leave the congregation in so good hands, and also in so good a state, for it is in all respects better than that in which I found it.

You may assure yourself that I shall think myself happy in every opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with my brethren in the West of England, and especially Mr. Toulmin. I leave Leeds in the beginning of April,* so that I shall hope to see Exeter either in May or September; but it will be too far from Calne for me to see it often.

P. S. I shall take the first opportunity of desiring your acceptance of a copy of my Lectures on Language.† I am happy in your approbation of my second volume of the Institutes.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.‡

DEAR SIR,

Leeds, March 7, 1773.

AN excursion which I have made into Lancashire has prevented my making so early an acknowledgment as I could have wished to have done of your favour, by which I think myself much honoured. I promise myself much satisfaction from your correspondence, and hope we shall have a tolerably easy communication when I come to reside in Wiltshire.

The objections you make to the hypothesis of the penetrability of matter§ are very ingenious, and not easily answered; but do they not equally affect the common hypothesis of the constituent particles of all bodies being prevented from actually touching one another by some power of repulsion, which however seems to be absolutely necessary to account for their condensation by cold, and dilatation by heat?

* Dr. Priestley preached his farewell sermon "May 16," (W. XV. 7,) and I find him writing from "Calne, June 14." See *infra*, p. 191.

† Printed at Warrington, in 1762, for the use of the students. See W. XXIII. 121, *note* *.

‡ Who died at Exeter, (his birth-place,) July 8, 1819, aged 77. See M. R. XIV. 445, 473, 494, 559; XV. 12; XVI. 41, 103.

§ See "Disquisitions," Sect. II. W. III. 226.

Mr. Michell* supposes that wherever the properties or powers of any substance are, there is the substance itself, something that we call *substance* being necessary to the support of any properties; but what any substance is, devoid of all properties, we cannot, from the nature of the thing, have any idea whatever; since all the notices that we receive of any substance are communicated to us by means of its properties, and such as bear some relation to our senses, which are the inlets to all our knowledge. And any property may be ascribed to any substance that does not necessarily imply a contradiction, that is, that does not suppose the absence of some other property.

Boscovich† seems to suppose that matter consists of *powers* only, without any substance; but this differs from the theory of Berkeley, which excludes all space as well as matter.

I do not suppose that the experiment which you mention of Newton's was ever made, except by himself; and if you consider the nature of it, you will be sensible that it must require the greatest attention, the concurrence of many circumstances, and a very great expense, to make it properly. I do not believe that it could be exhibited, as he did it, for less than 50 or perhaps 100 pounds.

I thank you for your theological hints, and should have been glad to have had them inserted in the Repository. If I had had any thing worthy your notice to observe concerning them, I should have mentioned it, but I really have not. I shall probably consider some of the subjects in the Institutes, of which I propose to publish a volume every year. The last part (concerning the Corruptions of Christianity) will grow, I believe, into two volumes.‡

I think myself much obliged to you for the distribution of the Appeal, &c. I hope to print all the pamphlets in one, some time before the next winter. It would have been done before this time, but that I wait for the corrections and remarks of some distant friends. I shall be glad to receive any thing that may occur to you.

* See *supra*, p. 78; W. III. 231.

† See *ibid.* 19, 231.

‡ See *supra*, p. 158, note ||.

P. S. I am sorry that a person of your disposition and qualifications should decline the ministry,* at a time when there seems to be very great want of such persons.†

I have now largely availed myself of Dr. Priestley's correspondence during the seven years of his residence at Leeds; having been greatly indebted, as I have before had occasion to acknowledge, for such a valuable illustration of his Memoirs, to several friendly and most obliging attentions; and I cannot conclude this chapter with any communication more appropriate than the following, which I copy from the original. It is an interesting record of the worthy purpose, and encouraging prospects, with which, amidst various other avocations, he had uniformly promoted the improvement of the young, the favourite object of his Christian ministry.‡

* "As a preacher, the discourses of this distinguished scholar and divine were marked by a chaste and correct style of composition, and a rational, undissembled, and elevated piety; while they were addressed to the hearts of his hearers in a simple and impressive tone of delivery. Mr. Bretland, at different periods of life, engaged in conducting the religious services of two most respectable congregations of Protestant Dissenters in the city of Exeter. Both these connexions, however, were only temporary.

"Upon principle, and for reasons satisfactory to his own conscientious mind, he afterwards declined the regular and stated exercise of his ministry, and retired from the public duties of his profession, and passed the remainder of his days in serenity and peace, till, at length, he closed a life of study and seclusion from the ordinary pursuits and vanities of the world; a life devoted to truth, to sincerity, to piety and resignation to the will of God, without a struggle or a sigh, and calmly fell asleep in the happy assurance of a glorious immortality." T. J. See M. R. XIV. 445.

† From a copy of the *Orig. MS.*, for which, with the copies of several later letters, I am indebted to my friend the Rev. B. Mardon, who ascertained from the information of Mr. Joseph Priestley that all Mr. Bretland's letters to his father were, most probably, destroyed in the Riots, 1791. See *ibid.* XVI. 103.

‡ The following testimony to the "skill and diligence" with which Dr. Priestley had pursued that eminently important object, was offered, on an interesting occasion, by a near and intelligent observer, who had been his colleague during the latter years of his residence at Birmingham. This I had the pleasure to hear when it was addressed by the eloquent preacher to a large assembly:

"With what skill and diligence did he apply himself to train up the youth

TO THE YOUNG MEN WHO ATTENDED THE LECTURE AT
MILL-HILL CHAPEL.

MY YOUNG FRIENDS,

Calne, June 14, 1773.

I CANNOT express to you the satisfaction I received from your letter, and unexpected present. Valuable as it is in itself, I shall value it much more as a memorial of your esteem, and more still as an evidence of the favourable acceptance which my endeavours for your improvement in religious knowledge have met with from you, and, therefore, I trust, of the benefit you have received from them.

Be assured that I shall ever retain a most grateful remembrance of every instance of friendship which I have received from the congregation, and especially this of yours.

It is the most earnest wish of my heart that, by a wise and steady conduct arising from just principles and views, a conduct which is perfectly consistent with the highest enjoyment of life, and without which, indeed, life cannot be enjoyed with any real satisfaction, you may do honour to yourselves, your friends, and country, here, and what is of still more importance, secure a happy immortality hereafter.

Hoping that the affection and respect which you have had for me, will be transferred to my worthy successor, I remain

Your affectionate friend and well-wisher,

J. PRIESTLEY.

of the congregations to which he was minister to the knowledge of the Bible, and the love of it; to understand the Christian doctrine, and become acquainted with the Christian history, in order that they might practise the more exactly and extensively the Christian morals! I could, from my own knowledge and observation, give a long and particular account of this.

“His ingenious methods, his familiar address, his invitation of question and remark, his easy condescension, which won the affections of the youth who attended upon his instructions, would not only interest, but perhaps add something to the stock of information on this subject, possessed by the very intelligent audience I have now the honour to address, at least so far as respects engaging the attention of the young, and inspiring into their minds the love of religion and virtue.” See “A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley, delivered in the Dissenting Chapel in Monkwell Street, on Sunday Evening, April 15, 1804. By John Edwards,” pp. 41, 42; W. XV. 69, *note*; XIX. 441.

CHAPTER VI.

(1773—1780.)

A FEW months after Dr. Priestley had finally quitted his residence at Leeds, to fulfil his engagement with the Earl of Shelburne, he received from his philosophical associates the honourable acknowledgment, which has been already mentioned,* of his diligence and success in the pursuits of science. On that occasion the President, Sir John Pringle, thus addressed the Royal Society :

GENTLEMEN,

IT is with great satisfaction I enter upon this part of my office, to confer, in your name, the prize-medal of this year upon a member of this Society, so worthy of that distinction.

It is with singular pleasure I acquaint you that the Rev. Joseph Priestley, Doctor of Laws, has been found at this time the best entitled to this public mark of your approbation, on account of the many curious and useful experiments contained in his *Observations on Different Kinds of Air*, read at the Society in March, 1772, and inserted in the last complete volume of your Transactions.† And indeed, Gentlemen, when you reflect on the zeal which our worthy brother has shewn to serve the public, and to do credit to your Institution, by his numerous, learned, and valuable communications, you will, I imagine, be inclined to think that we have been rather slow than precipitate in acknowledging so much merit.

* *Supra*, p. 77.† See *supra*, p. 148, note †.

The President proceeded to commemorate the predecessors of Dr. Priestley in his scientific pursuits, and enlarged, to a considerable extent, on the ingenuity and importance of their associate's own discoveries. The discourse then concluded with the following address :

DR. PRIESTLEY,

IT is now time that, in the name and by the authority of the Royal Society of London, instituted for the improvement of natural knowledge, I present you with this medal, the palm and laurel of this community, as a faithful and unfading testimonial of their regard, and of the just sense they have of your merit, and of the persevering industry with which you have promoted the views, and thereby the honour, of this Society. And, in their behalf, I must earnestly request you to continue those liberal and valuable inquiries, whether by further prosecuting this subject, probably not yet exhausted, or by investigating the nature of some other of the subtle fluids of the universe. You will remember that *fire*, the great instrument of the chemists, is but little known even to themselves; and that it remains a *query*, what was by the most celebrated of philosophers, (Newton's Optics, Quer. 18—24,) proposed as such, whether there be not a certain fluid, (he calls it æther,) the cause of gravity, the cause of the various attractions, and of the animal and vital motions.

These, Sir, are indeed large demands; but the Royal Society have hitherto been fortunate in their pneumatic researches; and were it otherwise, they have much to hope from men of your talents and application, and whose past labours have been crowned with so much success.*

About this time Dr. Priestley appears to have furnished to his friend Dr. Calder,† for the article *Fixed Air*, in a scientific dictionary, an account of the progress

* *Discourse*, (1774,) pp. 1, 2, 30, 31.

† See *supra*, pp. 78, 153, notes *. John Calder, D.D., died about 1816. See M. R. XI. 345; Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* IV. 799.

and variety of his discoveries in that department. It is here copied *verbatim* from Dr. Priestley's *autograph*.*

* "The bounds of this branch of natural knowledge have been much extended of late years, especially by our countrymen, as has appeared by the account that has been given of the discoveries made by Dr. Hales, Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Black, Dr. Macbride, and Mr. Cavendish.

"Treading in the steps of these philosophers, Dr. Priestley has not only added considerably to the knowledge we had before of the several kinds of air, which were the subjects of their inquiries, but has discovered several new species of air, of which no account, or at least no distinct account, had been given before, and has made a considerable progress in the investigation of their properties.

"That water would imbibe fixed air, and that Pyrmont water derives its acidulous taste and peculiar properties from fixed air, had been discovered by the philosophers above-mentioned; and Dr. Priestley having observed that agitation prodigiously facilitated the impregnation, contrived a method of making artificial Pyrmont water, by which it may be easily made in large quantities, and at a very small expense.

"Inflammable air is a species of air with which philosophers have been pretty well acquainted before; but Dr. Priestley found that it might be procured from copper and lead by the marine acid; and that, whereas it is naturally as noxious as any kind of air, yet by agitation in water, by which it is greatly diminished, it first becomes fit for respiration, though inflammable, then loses its inflammability; and, lastly, by a continuation of the same process, comes to extinguish a candle. With respect to this kind of air, he has also observed, that the electrical spark taken in it is red, and that mixed with the fumes of smoking spirit of nitre, a quantity of it is fired at one explosion, just as if it had been mixed with common air.

"That common air is necessary to the support of flame and animal life, and that it will serve these purposes a certain time only, had been known to all mankind; but the manner in which it becomes incapacitated for these purposes, or the provision in nature for purifying it, and thereby keeping the atmosphere fit for the purposes of animal life, were altogether unknown. Dr. Priestley, however, has made it pretty evident that common air becomes unfit for these purposes, by being overcharged with that principle which the chemists call *phlogiston*, which decomposes the common air, and makes it deposit the fixed air which entered into its constitution. He observed that the consequence of this overcharge of *phlogiston* is a diminution of the quantity, amounting in some cases to one-fourth, and that air diminished by one process, is not liable to be any further diminished by another.

"Of the processes which have this effect he has tried the fermentation of a mixture of iron filings and brimstone, the putrefaction of animal and vegetable substances, the calcination of metals, the *effluvia* of paint, made of white lead and oil, the fumes of charcoal, of liver of sulphur, and the flames

After a long interval, though not, I trust, uninterestingly occupied, the Memoirs will be now continued, from the termination of Dr. Priestley's residence at Leeds.

of candles, which, however, go out when the air is injured about one-third as much as by the other processes.

"Common air, injured by any of these processes, he found to be so far restored by a brisk agitation in water, that it was fit for respiration, but would not admit a candle to burn in it. Air injured by respiration, or putrefaction, he restored to the same state by plants in a vegetating state, which were observed to thrive exceedingly when surrounded with this air; and air injured by the burning of candles was perfectly restored by the same process, so that candles would burn in it again. It is probable, therefore, that the injury which the atmosphere continually receives from the respiration of animals, and from putrefaction, is remedied in part by the agitation of the water in seas and great lakes, and in part by that prodigious number of plants with which the earth abounds.

"By means of another species of air, which does not appear to have been observed separately before, Dr. Priestley has been able to ascertain the quality of any kind of air, with respect to its fitness for respiration. This he calls nitrous air, being that which is dislodged from metals by the nitrous acid.

"Such is the nature of this air, that when one measure of it is mixed with two measures of common wholesome air, the mixture instantly turns red; and after a momentary expansion, occasioned by the heat of the effervescence, the whole begins to contract, and the diminution goes on, till, instead of there being any addition to the bulk of the two measures of common air, by the one measure of nitrous air, it is reduced to one-fifth less than its original quantity.

"There is no redness or diminution at all perceived on the mixture of nitrous air with any kind of air that is unfit for respiration; and the diminution is more or less in proportion to the goodness of the air.

"Nitrous air, however, is itself diminished to one-fourth, by the effervescence of a mixture of iron-filings and brimstone, by the long contact of iron, or the fumes of liver of sulphur. By the two last of these processes, it becomes of the nature of inflammable air. This nitrous acid is a very strong antiseptic, not only preserving flesh from putrefaction, but restoring that which is become putrid.

"Dr. Priestley has also discovered two other kinds of air, one of which he calls *acid*, being expelled by heat from spirit of salt, and the other *alkaline*, being expelled from any liquor containing volatile alkali. These kinds of air can only be retained by means of quicksilver, being readily imbibed by water, which in one case becomes by this means strong spirit of salt, and in the other a volatile alkaline spirit.

"The acid air decomposes most substances that contain *phlogiston*, and is

(116.) I had been recommended to Lord Shelburne, by Dr. Price, as a person qualified to be a literary companion to him.* In this situation, my family being at Calne, in Wiltshire, near to his lordship's seat at Bowood, I continued seven years, spending the summer with my family, and a great part of the winter in his lordship's house in London. My office was nominally that of *librarian*, but I had little employment as such, besides arranging his books, taking a catalogue of them, and of his manuscripts, which were numerous,† and making an index to his collection of private papers. In fact, I was with him as a friend, and the second year made with him the tour of Flanders, Holland, and Germany, as far as Strasburgh;

by this means changed into inflammable air. Alkaline air is, in a small degree, inflammable itself." *Orig.* MS. (apparently as returned from the press,) in Mr. Upeott's collection.

Added to the MS., and, no doubt, concluding the article in the Dictionary, is the following paragraph by Dr. Calder:

"For his very curious original experiments, and many important discoveries, especially with respect to the different kinds of air, Dr. Priestley received a gold medal from the Royal Society, at their anniversary meeting, Nov. 30, 1773, as a faithful, unfading testimonial of their regard, of the just sense they had of his merit, and of the persevering industry with which he has promoted the views, and thereby the honour, of the Society."

Dr. Calder then refers to "some very considerable discoveries published by Dr. Priestley since the preceding paper was drawn up;" and to "his later discoveries, equally new and important, known, at present, only to his friends," and of which "it is proper the public should receive its earliest information from the author himself." *Ibid.* See *infra*, "July 7, 1775."

Dr. Beattie to Dr. Calder, from "Aberdeen, Jan. 26, 1772," says, "It gives me great pleasure to hear that your revival of Chambers's Dictionary is likely to turn so much to your account." Nichols's *Lit. Hist.* IV. 819. This was, probably, the literary undertaking which Dr. Priestley now assisted.

* See *supra*, pp. 176, &c. Lord Shelburne, "while in Italy, had been rendered anxious for his acquaintance, from the high renown which the abilities and performances of Dr. Priestley had acquired for him abroad, while as yet he was but little known in his native land." See "A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley," p. 28.

† They were purchased from the late Marquis of Lansdowne, for the British Museum, where they now form the *Lansdowne MSS.* During some late historical researches, I have been frequently indebted to the liberal use of that valuable collection.

and after spending a month at Paris, returned to England. This was in the year 1774.*

(117.) This little excursion made me more sensible than I should otherwise have been of the benefit of foreign travel,† even without the advantage of much conversation with foreigners. The very sight of new countries, new buildings, new customs, &c., and the very hearing of an unintelligible new language, gives new ideas, and tends to enlarge the mind. To me this little time was extremely pleasing, especially as I saw every thing to the greatest advantage, and without any anxiety or trouble, and had an opportunity of seeing and conversing with every person of eminence, wherever we came; the political characters by his lordship's connexions, and the literary ones by my own. I was soon, however, tired of Paris, and chose to spend my evenings at the hotel, in company with a few literary friends. Fortunately for me, Mr. Magellan‡ being at Paris at the same time, spent most of the evenings with me; and, as I chose to return before his lordship, he accompanied me to London, and made the journey very pleasing to me; he being used to the country, the language, and the manners of it, which I was not. He had seen much of the world, and his conversation during our journey was particularly interesting to me. Indeed, in London, both before and after this time, I always found him very friendly, especially in every thing that related to my philosophical pursuits.

(118.) As I was sufficiently apprized of the fact, I did not

* See *infra*, the correspondence.

† See W. XXV. 64—67.

‡ John Hyacinth De Magellan, a descendant of the famous navigator, was a Portuguese Jesuit, much employed by rich and noble correspondents abroad to procure philosophical instruments from the artists of Great Britain. Being of a mechanical turn, as well as a man of science, he improved their construction in many instances.

“He was member of almost all the philosophical clubs and meetings in London, and was generally furnished with early intelligence of philosophical discoveries from the continent. In 1785, he made a donation of 200 guineas to the American Philosophical Society, the interest whereof was to be appropriated annually as a premium for the most useful discoveries or improvements in navigation, or natural philosophy, but to the exclusion of mere natural history. He died a few years ago, leaving Mr. Nicholson and the late Dr. Crawford his executors.” *T. C. Mem.* 8vo. (1806) p. 73.

wonder, as I otherwise should have done, to find all the philosophical persons to whom I was introduced at Paris, unbelievers in Christianity, and even professed Atheists. As I chose on all occasions to appear as a Christian, I was told by some of them that I was the only person they had ever met with, of whose understanding they had any opinion, who professed to believe Christianity.* But on interrogating them on the subject, I soon found that they had given no proper attention to it, and did not really know what Christianity was. This was also the case with a great part of the company that I saw at Lord Shelburne's. But I hope that my always avowing myself to be a Christian, and holding myself ready on all occasions to defend the genuine principles of it, was not without its use. Having conversed so much with unbelievers, at home and abroad, I thought I should be able to combat their prejudices with some advantage, and with this view I wrote, while I was with Lord Shelburne, the first part of my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever,"† in proof of the doctrines of a God and a Providence, and to this I have added, during my residence at Birmingham, a second part, in defence of the evidences of Christianity.‡ The first part being replied to by a person who called himself Mr. Hammon,§ I wrote a reply to his piece,|| which has hitherto remained unanswered. I am happy to find that this work of mine has done some good, and

* To this circumstance Dr. Priestley refers in the preface to his *Sermon on the Slave Trade*, 1788. (W. XV. 366.) The "priest of the Catholic communion" was, not improbably, Boscovich. See *supra*, p. 190.

† "Containing an Examination of the Principal Objections to the Doctrines of Natural Religion, and especially those contained in the Writings of Mr. Hume, 1780." 2nd Ed. 1787. See W. IV. 317—411.

‡ "Containing a State of the Evidence of Revealed Religion, with Animadversions on the Two Last Chapters of the First Volume of Mr. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1787." W. IV. 444.

§ "Oxford Street," where Dr. Priestley vainly sought him. The writer was Dr. Turner, (*supra*, p. 76,) and his reply, a small pamphlet, entitled, "Answer to Dr. Priestley's Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, Part I., 1782;" republished by Carile; whose anti-christian zeal has been greatly assisted by the absurd and cruel interference of his Christian persecutors.

|| Entitled, "Additional Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, 1782." 2nd Ed. 1787. W. IV. 412.

I hope that in due time it will do more.* I can truly say, that the greatest satisfaction I receive from the success of my philosophical pursuits, arises from the weight it may give to my attempts to defend Christianity, and to free it from those corruptions which prevent its reception with philosophical and thinking persons, whose influence with the vulgar and the unthinking is very great.

(119.) With Lord Shelburne I saw a great variety of characters; but, of our neighbours in Wiltshire, the person I had the most frequent opportunity of seeing was Dr. Frampton, a clergyman, whose history may serve as a lesson to many. No man, perhaps, was ever better qualified to please in a convivial hour, or had greater talents for conversation and repartee; in consequence of which, though there were several things very disgusting about him, his society was much courted, and many promises of preferment were made to him. To these, notwithstanding his knowledge of the world, and of high life, he gave too much credit; so that he spared no expense to gratify his taste and appetite, until he was universally involved in debt; and though his friends made some efforts to relieve him, he was confined a year in the county prison, at a time when his bodily infirmities required the greatest indulgences; and he obtained his release but a short time before his death, on condition of his living on a scanty allowance; the income of his livings (amounting to more than four hundred pounds per annum) being in the hands of his creditors. Such was the end of a man who kept the table in a roar.

(120.) Dr. Frampton being a high Churchman, he could not at first conceal his aversion to me, and endeavoured to do me some ill offices. But being a man of letters, and despising the clergy in his neighbourhood, he became at last much attached to me; and in his distresses was satisfied, I believe, that I was one of his most sincere friends. With some great defects, he had some considerable virtues and uncommon abilities, which appeared more particularly in extempore speaking. He always preached without notes, and when, on some occasions, he com-

* The "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever" have been long out of print. There was a German translation.

posed his sermons, he could, if he chose to do it, repeat the whole *verbatim*. He frequently extemporized in verse, in a great variety of measures.

(121.) In Lord Shelburne's family was Lady Arabella Denny, who is well known by her extensive charities. She is (for she is still living*) a woman of good understanding and great piety. She had the care of his lordship's two sons, until they came under the care of Mr. Jervis,† who was their tutor during my continuance in the family. His lordship's younger son,‡ who died suddenly, had made astonishing attainments both in knowledge and piety, while very young, far beyond any thing that I had an opportunity of observing in my life.

(122.) When I went to his lordship, I had materials for one volume of "Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air," which I soon after published,§ and inscribed to him; and before I left him, I published three volumes more,|| and had materials for a fourth, which I published immediately on my settling in Birmingham.¶ He encouraged me in the prosecution of my philosophical inquiries, and allowed me forty pounds per annum for expenses of that kind, and was pleased to see me make experiments to entertain his guests, and especially foreigners.

(123.) Notwithstanding the attention that I gave to philosophy in this situation, I did not discontinue my other studies, especially in theology and metaphysics. Here I wrote my "Miscellaneous Observations relating to Education,"** and published my Lectures on Oratory and Criticism,†† which

* Lady Denny died in Ireland in 1785. See *Gent. Mag.* LV. 235. When the Rev. Philip Skelton, (see *supra*, p. 85 note,) in 1770, "published his works by subscription, for the benefit of the Magdalen Charity," Dublin, "he prefixed a dedication addressed to Lady Arabella Denny, the illustrious patroness of the charity." *Lives of Povey, &c.*, (1816,) II. 418, 419.

An ingenious contrivance by this lady, "for the benefit of infants," is described, M. R. V. 129, 130.

† See M. R. III. 383.

‡ See *infra*, the correspondence.

§ In 1774. See *Mon. Rev.* L. 280; LI. 136, 361; W. XXV. 371, note †.

|| In 1775, 1777, and 1779. See *Mon. Rev.* LIV. 107, 145; LVII. 5; LVIII. 60.

¶ In 1780.

** First Ed. 1778. See W. XXV. 1.

†† In 1777. W. XXIII. 253--482.

I dedicated to Lord Fitzmaurice, Lord Shelburne's eldest son.* Here also I published† the third and last part of my "Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion;"‡ and having in the preface attacked the principles of Dr. Reid,§ Dr. Beattie,|| and Dr. Oswald,¶ with respect to their doctrine of *common sense*,** which they made to supersede all rational inquiry into the subject of religion, I was led to consider their system in a separate work,†† which, though written in a manner I do not entirely approve, has, I hope, upon the whole, been of service to the cause of free inquiry and truth.‡‡

(124.) In the preface I had expressed my belief of the doctrine of *Philosophical Necessity*, but without any design to pursue the subject, and also my great admiration of Dr. Hartley's theory of the human mind,§§ as indeed I had taken many opportunities of doing before. This led me to publish||| that part of his "Observations on Man,"¶¶ which related to the doctrine of association of ideas, detached from the doctrine of vibrations, prefixing Three Dissertations,*** explanatory of his general system. In one of these††† I expressed some doubt of the immateriality of the sentient principle in man;‡‡‡ and

* Who succeeded his father, as Marquis of Lansdowne, in 1805, and died in 1809, aged 44. See W. XXIII. 255.

† In 1774.

‡ See W. II. 249; *supra*, p. 158, *note* ||.

§ In his "Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense, 1764."

|| In his "Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, 1770." See *supra*, pp. 119, 125, 126.

¶¶ In his "Appeal to Common Sense in behalf of Religion, 1767."

** See W. II. 250—257.

†† See W. III. 3.

‡‡ "This reply of Dr. Priestley to the Scotch doctors, though not written, in a manner that his maturer reflection approved, completely set at rest the question of common sense, as denoting the intuitive evidence of a class of moral and religious propositions capable of satisfactory proof, or of high probability, from considerations *ab extra*." T. C. *Mem.* 8vo. pp. 78, 79.

§§ See W. III. 7, 173, *ad fin.*

||| In 1775; 2nd Ed. 1790.

¶¶¶ "His frame, his duty, and his expectations, 1749." See *supra*, p. 24.

*** "Introductory Essays." W. III. 174—196.

††† The first, *ad fin.* W. III. 181, 182.

‡‡‡ Dr. Priestley, in his earlier consideration of this subject, "had always taken it for granted, that man had a soul distinct from his body, though incapable of exerting any of its faculties, independent of the body," yet "a

the outcry that was made on what I casually expressed on that subject can hardly be imagined. In all the newspapers, and most of the periodical publications, I was represented as an unbeliever in revelation, and no better than an Atheist.

(125.) This led me to give the closest attention to the subject, and the consequence was the firmest persuasion that man is wholly material,* and that our only prospect of immortality is from the Christian doctrine of a resurrection. I therefore digested my thoughts on the subject, and published my “Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit:”† also the subjects of Socinianism and Necessity, being nearly connected with the doctrine of the materiality of man, I advanced several considerations from the state of opinions in ancient times in favour of the former; and in a separate volume,‡ discussed more at large what related to the latter, dedicating the first volume of this work to Mr. Graham,§ and the second to Dr. Jebb.||

(126.) It being probable that this publication would be unpopular, and might be a means of bringing odium on my patron, several attempts were made by his friends, though none by himself, to dissuade me from persisting in it. But being, as I thought, engaged in the cause of important truth, I proceeded without regard to any consequences, assuring them that this publication should not be injurious to his lordship.

(127.) In order, however, to proceed with the greatest caution in a business of such moment, I desired some of my learned friends, and especially Dr. Price, to peruse the work before it was published; and the remarks that he made upon it led to a free and friendly discussion of the several subjects

substance so entirely distinct from matter, as to have no property in common with it”

In this opinion he appears to have still rested, when publishing, in 1774, “the first edition” of the *Institutes*; though “many doubts occurred on the subject of the intimate union of two substances so entirely heterogeneous as the soul and the body were represented to be.” See the beginning of the preface to “*Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit*,” W. III. 201.

* See Mr. Belsham’s remarks, M. R. X. 746, 747.

† In 1777. 2nd Ed. 1782. See W. III. 218.

‡ In 1777. 2nd Ed. 1782. See W. III. 447.

§ W. III. 199. See *supra*, p. 11.

|| W. III. 449.

of it, which we afterwards published jointly;* and it remains a proof of the possibility of discussing subjects mutually considered as of the greatest importance, with the most perfect good temper, and without the least diminution of friendship. This work I dedicated to our common friend Mr. Lee.

(128.) In this situation I published my "Harmony of the Gospels,"† on the idea of the public ministry of Jesus having continued little more than one year, a scheme which I first proposed in the "Theological Repository;"‡ and the Bishop of Waterford§ having, in his "Harmony," published a defence of the common hypothesis, viz. that of its having been three

* In 1778. W. IV. 5. See *ibid.* III. iv., and Mr. Belsham's reference to this discussion, (deserving to be classed with the *Amica Collatio* between Limborch and Orobio,) M. R. X. 746, 747. The Rev. W. Hopkins, (of whom see M. R. I. 337—340,) in a letter to Mr. Lindsey, in 1784, says,

"Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley had a friendly debate upon liberty and necessity. If I remember right, Dr. Price maintained his point, viz. liberty, in an able and rational way; but when he came to the grand difficulty which has perplexed the best writers upon the subject, viz. how to reconcile prescience with liberty, he seemed distressed.

"It has generally been taken for granted on both sides, that Divine prescience must be admitted as a truth. But really I entertain very great doubts, occasioned by a careful perusal of a chapter in *Crellius, de Sapientia Dei*, which does not seem to have engaged the attention of the learned so much as it deserves." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 512.

Faustus Socinus appears to have been reduced to the same diffidence, if not denial of the Divine prescience, in vindicating the responsibility of man. For this he is ridiculed and insulted, in one of the sermons of South.

† In Greek, 1777. The dedication to Dr. Price, from "Calne, Jan. 1776," expresses their union "in the pursuit of natural science, and in an attachment to the natural liberties of mankind," trusting they should "both ever act upon the idea of the inferiority of all the civil rights of men to the privileges of Christians, and of the insignificance of all things temporal, compared with things eternal." W. XX. 4, 5.

The Harmony in English was published 1780. See the preface, *ibid.* 508. It now forms part of Dr. Priestley's work "on all the Books of Scripture," the last, as it had been the favourite, labour of his life. See W. XI. 8; XIII. 7—386.

The notes signed J. were by Dr. Jebb, to whom Mr. Lindsey writes, "Feb. 12, 1774. Your valuable observations for Dr. Priestley shall be delivered to him. They shew great attention, and an intimate knowledge of holy scripture." *Orig. MS.* See W. XX. 509, *ad fin.*

‡ See *supra*, pp. 71, 120, 128.

§ Dr. Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh, 1795. He died, 1800, aged 70. See W. XX. 121, *note* *; M. R. IX. 257.

years, I addressed a letter to him on the subject,* and to this he made a reply in a separate work. The controversy proceeded to several publications on both sides, in the most amicable manner, and the last "Postscript" was published jointly by us both.† Though my side of the question was without any advocates that I know of, and had only been adopted by Mr. Mann,‡ who seemed to have had no followers, there are few persons, I believe, who have attended to our discussion of the subject, who are not satisfied that I have sufficiently proved what I had advanced. This controversy was not finished until after my removal to Birmingham.§

(129.) Reflecting on the time that I spent with Lord Shelburne, being as a guest in the family, I can truly say that I was not at all fascinated with that mode of life. Instead of looking back upon it with regret, one of the greatest subjects of my present thankfulness is, the change of that situation for the one in which I am now placed; and yet I was far from being unhappy there, much less so than those who are born to such a state, and pass all their lives in it. These are generally unhappy from the want of necessary employment; on which account chiefly there appears to be much more happiness in the middle classes of life, who are above the fear of want, and yet have a sufficient motive for a constant exertion of their faculties; and who have always some other object besides amusement.

(130.) I used to make no scruple of maintaining, that there is not only most virtue, and most happiness, but even most true politeness, in the middle classes of life. For in proportion as men pass more of their time in the society of their equals, they get a better established habit of governing their tempers; they attend more to the feelings of others, and are more disposed to accommodate themselves to them. On the other hand, the passions of persons in higher life, having been

* From "Calne, Aug. 1779." See W. XX. 121.

† See *ibid.* 224.

‡ See *supra*, p. 71.

§ The second letter was dated from thence, "Dec. 1, 1780;" the third, "Aug. 10, 1781." See W. XX. 137, 201.

less controlled, are more apt to be inflamed; the idea of their rank and superiority to others seldom quits them; and though they are in the habit of concealing their feelings, and disguising their passions, it is not always so well done but that persons of ordinary discernment may perceive what they inwardly suffer. On this account they are really entitled to compassion, it being the almost unavoidable consequence of their education and mode of life. But when the mind is not hurt in such a situation, when a person born to affluence can lose sight of himself, and truly feel and act for others, the character is so godlike, as shews that this inequality of condition is not without its use. Like the general discipline of life, it is for the present lost on the great mass, but on a few it produces what no other state of things could do.

(131.) The greatest part of the time that I spent with Lord Shelburne I passed with much satisfaction, his lordship always behaving to me with uniform politeness, and his guests with respect;* but about two years before I left him I perceived

* “The account here given of Dr. Priestley’s connexion with Lord Shelburne must be gratifying to every friend of science and literature, notwithstanding the subsequent separation. To such persons the character of a nobleman who, like Lord Shelburne, devotes so much of his time, and so much of his income, to the pursuits of knowledge, and the encouragement of those who eminently contribute to enlighten mankind, cannot but be interesting. Had he behaved dishonourably or disrespectfully to a man of Dr. Priestley’s high station in the literary world, it would have been an argument that science and literature were ineffectual to soften the pride of titled opulence and hereditary rank. But Ovid has observed justly, *ingenuus didicisse fideliter artes, emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*.

“It is right to mention an anecdote highly honourable to Lord Shelburne, on the authority of Dr. Priestley. At the conclusion of the treaty of peace in 1783, negociated by Lord Shelburne while he was in the ministry, a strong opposition was expected, particularly from his former coadjutors, who, soon after the death of Lord Rockingham, had seceded from Lord Shelburne’s administration. It was suggested to this nobleman that it was customary for the minister for the time being to let it be understood among the members of the ministerial members, that they might expect the usual *douceur* for their votes on such an occasion. Some light might be thrown on the nature and quantum of this *douceur* by the list of ministerial rewards distributed at the close of each session, as stated publicly to the House of Commons by the late Sir George Savile. Lord Shelburne, without hesitation, refused com-

evident marks of dissatisfaction, though I never understood the cause of it; and until that time he had been even lavish on all occasions in expressing his satisfaction in my society to our common friends. When I left him, I asked him whether he had any fault to find with my conduct, and he said *none*.

(132.) At length, however, he intimated to Dr. Price that he wished to give me an establishment in Ireland, where he had large property. This gave me an opportunity of acquainting him that if he chose to dissolve the connexion, it should be on the terms expressed in the writings which we mutually signed when it was formed, in consequence of which I should be entitled to an annuity of an hundred and fifty pounds, and then I would provide for myself, and to this he readily acceded. He told Dr. Price that he wished our separation to be amicable, and I assured him that nothing should be wanting on my part to make it truly so. Accordingly, I expected that he would receive my visits when I should be occasionally in London, but he declined them.

(133.) However, when I had been some years settled at Birmingham, he sent an especial messenger, and common friend, to engage me again in his service, having, as that friend assured me, a deep sense of the loss of Lord Ashburton (Mr. Dunning) by death,* and of Colonel Barré, by his becoming almost blind, and his want of some able and faithful friend, such as he had experienced in me, with other expressions more flattering than those. I did not choose, however, on any consideration, to leave the very eligible situation† in which I now am, but expressed my readiness to do him any service in my power. His lordship's enemies have insinuated that he was not punctual in the payment of my annuity; but the contrary is true: hitherto nothing could have been more punctual, and I have no reason to suppose that it will ever be otherwise.

pliance; and declared that if his peace could not obtain the unbought approbation of the House, it might take its chance. The consequence was, that although the address was carried in the Lords by 72 to 59, it was lost in the Commons by 224 to 208." *T. C. Mem.* 8vo. pp. 84, 85.

* In 1783. See W. XXV. 394.

† Birmingham in 1787.

(134.) At Calne I had another son born to me, whom, at Lord Shelburne's request, I called Henry.*

(135.) It was at the time of my leaving Lord Shelburne that I found the great value of Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey's friendship, in such a manner as I certainly had no expectation of when our acquaintance commenced, especially by their introducing me to the notice of Mrs. Rayner,† one of his hearers and most zealous friends.

(136.) Notwithstanding my allowance from Lord Shelburne was larger than that which I had at Leeds, yet my family growing up, and my expenses, on this and other accounts, increasing more than in proportion, I was barely able to support my removal. But my situation being intimated to Mrs. Rayner, besides smaller sums, with which she occasionally assisted me, she gave me an hundred guineas to defray the expense of my removal, and deposited with Mrs. Lindsey, which she soon after gave up to me, four hundred guineas, and to this day has never failed giving me, every year, marks of her friendship. Hers is, indeed, I seriously think, one of the first Christian characters that I was ever acquainted with, having a cultivated, comprehensive mind, equal to any subject of theology or metaphysics,‡ intrepid in the cause of truth, and most rationally pious.

* He accompanied one of his elder brothers to America, previous to Dr. Priestley's emigration, and died in 1795, "just after" his father "had fixed him in a farm, and built him a house, a little distance from Northumberland." His interment in "a plot of ground" belonging to the society of Quakers is thus described by Mr. Bakewell:

"I attended the funeral to the lonely spot, and there I saw the good old father perform the service over the grave of his son. It was an affecting sight, but he went through it with fortitude, and, after praying, addressed the attendants in a few words, assuring them that though death had separated them here, they should meet again in another and a better life." See "Some Particulars of Dr. Priestley's Residence at Northumberland," M. R. (1806) I. 396.

† To this lady, (who died at Clapham, 1800, aged 86,) Dr. Priestley dedicated his "History of Early Opinions." See W. VI. 3; *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 119—121, 156, 359.

‡ Rev. B. Carpenter, who once resided at Clapham, describes Mrs. Rayner

(137.) Spending so much of my time in London was the means of increasing my intimacy with both Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Lee, our common friend; who, amidst the bustle of politics, always preserved his attachment to theology, and the cause of truth.* The Sunday I always spent with Mr. Lindsey, attending the service of his chapel, and sometimes officiating for him; and with him and Mrs. Lindsey I generally spent the evening of that day at Mr. Lee's, who then admitted no other company, and seldom have I enjoyed society with more relish.

(138.) My winter's residence in London was the means of improving my acquaintance with Dr. Franklin.† I was seldom many days without seeing him, and being members of the same club,‡ we constantly returned together. The difference

as "a lady of strong sense, and uncommon generosity." He adds, "She was a great friend of Dr. Priestley, but could not bear his opinion respecting the dormant state of man after death, and wrote a long letter to him on this subject. No, she would exclaim, I shall continue the same conscious being after death that I am now. I have repeatedly heard her express great indignation against Mr. Urwick, for asserting in his own pulpit the pre-existence of Christ. She did this once when he was present, and he only made this calm reply, You did not hear me condemn those who disbelieve it." M. R. III. 326, *note*.

* See *supra*, p. 86, *note* *.

† To whom Dr. Priestley had dedicated his "Chart of History." See *supra*, p. 55. For Franklin's agreeable recollection of this acquaintance, see W. XIX. 298.

‡ See W. XXV. 393 To this club Dr. Franklin evidently refers, when thus writing from "Passy, Feb. 6, 1780," to Dr. Price:

"Please to present my affectionate respects to that honest, sensible, and intelligent society, who did me so long the honour of admitting me to share in their instructive conversations. I never think of the hours I so happily spent in that company, without regretting that they are never to be repeated, for I see no prospect of an end to this unhappy war in my time.

"Dr. Priestley, you tell me, continues his experiments with success. We make daily great improvements in *natural*, there is one I wish to see in *moral* philosophy; the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this?" M. R. XII. 14.

Mr. Morgan, describing Dr. Price's intellectual relaxations from his severer studies, says,

"Some of his evenings in each week he devoted to particular parties; but

with America breaking out at this time, our conversation was chiefly of a political nature, and I can bear witness that he was so far from promoting, as was generally supposed, that he took every method in his power to prevent a rupture between the two countries.* He urged so much the doctrine of forbearance, that for some time he was unpopular with the Americans on that account, as too much a friend to Great Britain.† His advice to them was to bear every thing for the present, as they were sure in time to out-grow all their grievances, as it could not be in the power of the mother country to oppress them long.

(139.) He dreaded the war, and often said, that if the difference should come to an open rupture, it would be a war of *ten years*, and he should not live to see the end of it. In reality the war lasted nearly eight years, but he did live to see the happy termination of it.‡ That the issue would be favour-

the party in which he always expressed himself most agreeably entertained, and which met at stated times at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, consisted of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Canton, Dr. Kippis, and other philosophical gentlemen.

“To the number of those who constituted this assembly should be added the illustrious name of Dr. Priestley, who had lately, by the recommendation of Dr. Price, accepted the office of librarian to Lord Shelburne, and, in consequence, had his winter residence in London. The astonishing discoveries made by this admirable philosopher, which formed the foundation of all modern chemistry, and which he was now pursuing with his usual ardour and ability, added much to the entertainment and instruction of the company.” *Mem. of Price*, pp. 48, 49. See M. R. IX. 636.

* Mr. Morgan adds to the passage I have just quoted, “Unfortunately the rising disputes with the American colonies gradually introduced other subjects into discussion, and at length deprived the Society of one of its brightest ornaments, by obliging Dr. Franklin to retire from this country.” *Mem. of Price*, p. 49. See W. XXV. 393.

Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, and father-in-law of Sir W. Jones, was a member of this club, and an intimate friend of Franklin’s.

† “He was thought too much of an American to be supposed to have English interests at heart, while the more ardent republican leaders would have thought him too much of an Englishman, in his concessions, to be a true American. In no part of life he shines with greater lustre than at this period. The whole weight of his public character and well-earned fame he threw into these efforts for the public peace.” *Life of Franklin*, (1826,) pp. 195, 196.

‡ It commenced April 19, 1775, at Lexington, (near Boston,) where

able to America, he never doubted. The English, he used to say, may take all our great towns, but that will not give them possession of the country. The last day that he spent in England,* having given out that he should leave London the day before, we passed together, without any other company; and much of the time was employed in reading American newspapers, especially accounts of the reception which the "Boston Port Bill" met with in America,† and as he read the

"about 70 men, belonging to the Minute Company of that town, were found on the parade under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van of the British troops, galloping up to them, called out, 'Disperse, disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse.' The sturdy yeomanry not instantly obeying the words, he advanced nearer, fired his pistol, flourished his sword, and ordered his soldiers to fire.

"Eight Americans were killed. A handsome monument has been erected to their memory on the green where the first of them fell." See Dr. Holmes's *Amer. Annals*, (1808,) II. 271.

"Nov. 13, 1782. Commissioners agreed on provisional articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States. The Definitive Treaty was signed at Paris, Sept. 3, 1783, by John Adams, David Hartley, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay." *Ibid.* 378, 381, 419.

In July, 1785, "Mr. Jefferson, having been appointed his successor," Dr. Franklin finally quitted France, "being accommodated" to Havre "with the king's mules and litter." On the 23d, he "saw the land of the British Isles once more." At Southampton "he domesticated himself" one day "with Bishop Shipley," who, with "his family," had come to meet him. "On the 27th," he embarked "on board the London Packet," an American vessel, and "landed at Philadelphia," Sept. 14.

"His entry resembled a triumph; and he traversed the streets of that capital amidst the benedictions of a free and grateful people: old men who had petitioned heaven to live long enough to behold his return, and a new generation, eager to survey the features of a great man, whose talents, services, and virtues, had excited in their hearts the first raptures of enthusiasm." *Life of Franklin*, pp. 287—289.

* "In March, 1775. The evening before he left London, Dr. Fothergill sent him a note, (inclosing letters for Philadelphia,) in which he spoke out plainly respecting what he saw of ministers, asserting, that whatever specious pretences were made, 'they are all hollow,' and that 'to get a larger field, in which to fatten a herd of worthless parasites, was all that was regarded.'" *Ibid.* p. 196. See *supra*, p. 75.

† In March, 1774, "a bill was passed, by which the port of Boston was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping goods, wares, and merchandize." *Amer. Ann.* II. 256.

"Copies of the Act," says Dr. Gordon, "arrived in different parts; were

addresses to the inhabitants of Boston, from the places in the neighbourhood, the tears trickled down his cheeks.*

(140.) It is much to be lamented that a man of Dr. Franklin's general good character and great influence should have been an unbeliever in Christianity, and also have done so much as he did to make others unbelievers.† To me, however, he acknowledged‡ that he had not given so much attention as he ought to have done to the evidences of Christianity, and desired me to recommend to him a few treatises on the subject, such as I thought most deserving of his notice, but not of great length, promising to read them, and give me his sentiments on them. Accordingly, I recommended to him Hartley's evidences of Christianity in his "Observations on Man,"§ and what I had then written on the subject in my "Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion;"|| but the American war breaking out soon after, I do not believe that he ever found himself sufficiently at leisure for the discussion.¶ I have kept

multiplied with incredible expedition, and circulated through the colonies. In some places they were printed with a black border, and cried about the streets, under the title of 'a barbarous, cruel, bloody and inhuman murder.' In others, great bodies of the people were called together by advertisement, and the obnoxious law burned with great solemnity, similar to what was done in the time of the Stamp Act." *Amer. Revolution*, (1788,) p. 361.

"June 1. Business was finished at the custom-house in Boston at 12 o'clock at noon, and the harbour shut up against all vessels bound thither; and after the 14th none were to be allowed to depart. The day was devoutly kept at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, as a day of fasting and humiliation. There was a solemn pause in the business of Philadelphia. If we except the Quakers, near nine-tenths of the citizens shut up their houses, and the bells were rung muffled all the day" *Ibid.* p. 364.

I had once, in my possession, a collection of Boston newspapers of this period. They were ornamented with the figure of a snake, exactly divided into thirteen parts, each inscribed with the initials of one of the colonies, and underneath, prefixed to a few animating verses, *join or die*.

* See this honourable testimony repeated, W. XXV. 393.

† Though he censured "ridiculing the Scriptures," as "a species of profaneness." See W. XVII. 30.

‡ And to Dr. Price. See *Mem. of Price*, p. 149, *note*.

§ Which have been separately printed, and largely circulated by the Unitarian Book Society.

|| See *supra*, p. 174.

¶ "Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, wrote a letter, Jan. 28, 1790,

up a correspondence with him occasionally ever since; and three of his letters to me were, with his consent, published

to his old friend, Dr. Franklin, soliciting his portrait for Yale College. In this letter he delicately expresses his desire to know the doctor's sentiments on Christianity.

"The doctor in his reply, March 9, 1790, says, 'I do not take your curiosity amiss, and shall in a few words endeavour to gratify it. As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think the system of morals, and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw, or is likely to see; but I apprehend it has received various corrupting changes; and I have, with most of the present Dissenters in England, some doubts as to his divinity.' " M. R. III. 367. See *ibid.* XII. 16.

It is scarcely necessary to remark how incorrect was Dr. Franklin's information, in 1790, as to the opinion most prevalent among "the Dissenters in England" respecting the divinity of the Saviour's person. Doubts on that subject have since gradually increased among the most sincere and conscientious believers in the divinity of his mission. On the grounds of Dr. Franklin's belief in a future life, see *ibid.* I. 193; XII. 15.

A lady, in a letter from "Philadelphia, May 5, 1790," communicating to a friend in England "information of Dr. Franklin's death," has described "the chamber where the good man meets his fate" in the following very interesting relation:

"I was the faithful witness of the closing scene, which he sustained with that calm fortitude which characterized him through life. No repining, no peevish expressions ever escaped him, during a confinement of two years, in which, I believe, if every moment of ease could be added together, the sum would not amount to two whole months. When the pain was not too violent to be amused, he employed himself with his books, his pen, or in conversation with his friend; and upon every occasion displayed the clearness of his intellects, and the cheerfulness of his temper. Even when the intervals from pain were so short that his words were frequently interrupted, I have known him hold a discourse in a sublime strain of piety.

"I never shall forget one day that I passed with our friend last summer. I found him in bed in great agony, but when that agony abated a little, I asked if I should read to him. He said, Yes; and the first book I met with was Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. I read the life of Watts, who was a favourite author with Dr. F.; and, instead of lulling him to sleep, it roused him to a display of the powers of his memory and his reason. He repeated several of Watts's Lyric Poems, and descanted upon their sublimity in a strain worthy of them and of their pious author. It is natural for us to wish that an attention to some ceremonies had accompanied that religion of the heart which I am convinced Dr. F. always possessed; but let us who feel the benefit of them continue to practise them, without thinking lightly of that piety which could support pain without a murmur, and meet death without terror." *Ibid.* XVI. p. 4. See *Mem. of Price*, pp. 146, 147.

Dr. Franklin died "April 17, 1790," aged "84 years and 3 months. The following is too honourable to his memory to be justly omitted:

in his miscellaneous works, in quarto. The first of them, written immediately on his landing in America, is very striking.*

(141.) About three years before the dissolution of my connexion with Lord Shelburne, Dr. Fothergill, with whom I had always lived on terms of much intimacy,† having observed, as he said, that many of my experiments had not been carried to their proper extent on account of the expense that would have attended them, proposed to me a subscription from himself and some of his friends, to supply me with whatever sums I should want for that purpose, and named a hundred pounds per annum. This large subscription I declined, lest the discovery of it (by the use that I should, of course, make of it) should give umbrage to Lord Shelburne; but I consented to accept of forty pounds per annum, which from that time he regularly paid me from the contribution of himself, Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Constable, and Sir George Savile.‡

(142.) On my leaving Lord Shelburne, which was attended with the loss of one half of my income,§ Dr. Fothergill proposed an enlargement of my allowance for my experiments, and likewise for my maintenance, without being under the necessity of giving my time to pupils, which I must otherwise have done. And, considering the generosity with which this voluntary offer was made by persons who could well afford it, and who thought me qualified to serve the interests of science, I thought it right to accept of it; and I preferred it to any

“The latest public act of his life was to affix his name, as president of the Abolition Society, to the memorial presented, Feb. 12, 1789, to the House of Representatives of the United States, praying them to discourage and put down the slave-trade.

“In the Federal Gazette of the following month, appeared his last-printed essay, signed *Historicus*, and which, after the method which he had now practised for more than half a century, contained an excellent parody on the speech of Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, in the disguise of one stated to have been delivered at Algiers in 1687. This able piece of satire very characteristically concluded the literary labours of Franklin.” *Life*, pp. 301, 303.

* See *infra*, “May 16, 1775,” and “Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces,” (1779,) p. 365.

† See *supra*, p. 75, *note* ¶.

‡ See W. XIX. 360.

§ See *infra*, to Scholfield, “June 1, 1780.”

pension from the court, offers of which were more than once made by persons who thought they could have procured one for me.

(143.) As it was my wish to do what might be in my power to shew my gratitude to my friends and benefactors that suggested the idea of writing these Memoirs, I shall subjoin a list of their names. Some of the subscriptions were made with a view to defray the expense of my experiments only; but the greater part of the subscribers were persons who were equally friends to my theological studies.

(144.) The persons who made me this regular annual allowance were, Dr. Watson* and his son, Mr. Wedgwood,† Mr. Moseley, Mr. Samuel Salte,‡ Mr. Jeffries,§ Mr. Radcliffe,|| Mr. Remington, Mr. Strutt, of Derby; Mr. Shore,¶ Mr. Reynolds, of Paxton;** Messrs. Galton,†† father and son; and the Rev. Mr. Simpson.‡‡

(145.) Besides the persons whose names appear in this list, as regular subscribers, there were other persons who, without choosing to be known as such, contributed no less to my support, and some considerably more.

(146.) My chief benefactress was Mrs. Rayner, and next to her Dr. Heberden,§§ equally distinguished for his love of religious truth, and his zeal to promote science. Such also is the character of Mr. Tayleur, of Shrewsbury;||| who has, at different times, remitted me considerable sums, chiefly to defray

* See *supra*, p. 55; W. XXV. 391.

† See W. XIX. 418.

‡ An intimate friend of Dr. Priestley's early associate, Alexander (*supra*, p. 25). See *Biog. Brit.* II. 207, *ad fin.* Mr. Salte died, 1817.

§ Edward Jeffries, Esq., whose name I connect with many early family recollections. He died, 1814, aged 88. See M. R. IX. 246, 272.

|| Died, 1809, aged 77. See M. R. IV. 707; V. 146; W. XX. 495, *note* *.

¶ See *supra*, p. 61, *ad fin.*; W. XXI. 41, *ad fin.*

** See *supra*, p. 131, *note* ||. Mr. Reynolds died, 1814, aged 86. M. R. IX. 132.

†† See W. XIX. 365.

‡‡ See *supra*, p. 50, *note*; W. XVII. 423, *note*. Mr. Simpson died, 1812, aged 66. See M. R. IX. 80; XI. 224; XII. 241.

§§ See W. XII. 388.

||| Who died, 1796, aged 83. See *Mon. Mag.* I. 351; *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 138; W. IV. 313; VIII. 562.

the expenses incurred by my theological inquiries and publications.

(147.) Mr. Parker, of Fleet Street,* very generously supplied me with every instrument that I wanted in glass, particularly a capital burning lens,† sixteen inches in diameter. All his benefactions in this way would have amounted to a considerable sum. Mr. Wedgwood also, besides his annual benefaction, supplied me with every thing that I wanted made of pottery, such as retorts, tubes, &c., which the account of my experiments will shew to have been of great use to me.

(148.) On my removal to Birmingham,‡ commenced my intimacy with Mr. William Russell,§ whose public spirit and zeal in every good cause can hardly be exceeded. My obligations to him were various and constant, so as not to be estimated by sums of money. At his proposal, I doubt not, some of the heads of the congregation made me a present of two hundred pounds to assist me in my theological publications.

(149.) Mr. Lee shewed himself particularly my friend, at the time that I left Lord Shelburne, assisting me in the difficulties with which I was then pressed, and continuing to befriend me afterwards by seasonable benefactions. By him it was hinted to me during the administration of Lord Rockingham, with whom he had great influence, that I might have a pension from the government to assist in defraying the expense of my experiments. Another hint of the same kind was given me in the beginning of Mr. Pitt's administration, by a bishop, in whose power it was to have procured it from him. But in both cases I declined the overture, wishing to preserve myself independent

* See W. XIX. 418. Mr. Parker (who died at an advanced age, in 1817) has frequently named Dr. Priestley to me, with great regard for his high integrity, though, in theological opinions, they widely differed.

Two letters from Dr. Priestley, in America, to the son of this gentleman, will appear in the later correspondence.

† “ Though Dr. Priestley's sight was not much worse than before, during the last ten years of his life, it had been much injured by his experiments with the burning lens, of which he made much use in summer time.” *Mem.* Svo. p. 93.

‡ In December, 1780.

§ Who died, 1818, aged 77. See M. R. XIII. 153, 329; W. XI. 3; *Index*; also Dr. P. to Mr. R. in the later correspondence.

of every thing connected with the court, and preferring the assistance of generous and opulent individuals, lovers of science, and also lovers of liberty. Without assistance I could not have carried on my experiments except on a very small scale, and under great disadvantages.

(150.) Mr. Galton, before I had any opportunity of being personally acquainted with him, had, on the death of Dr. Fothergill, taken up his subscription. His son did the same, and the friendship of the latter has added much to the happiness of my situation here [Birmingham]. Seldom, if ever, have I known two persons of such cultivated minds, pleasing manners, and liberal dispositions, as he and Mrs. Galton. The latter had the greatest attachment imaginable to my wife.

(151.) Mr. Salte was zealous in promoting the subscriptions to my experiments, and moreover proposed to take one of my sons as an apprentice, without any fee. But my brother-in-law making the same offer, I gave it the preference. Mr. Wedgwood, who has distinguished himself by his application to philosophical pursuits, as well as by his great success in the improvements of his manufactory, was very zealous to serve me, and urged me to accept of a much larger allowance than I chose.

(152.) The favours that I received from my two brothers-in-law deserve my most grateful acknowledgments. They acted the part of kind and generous relations, especially at the time when I most wanted assistance. It was in consequence of Mr. John Wilkinson's proposal, who wished to have us nearer to him, that, being undetermined where to settle, I fixed upon Birmingham, where he soon provided a house for me.

(153.) My apology for accepting of these large benefactions is, that besides the great expense of my philosophical and even my theological studies, and the education of three sons and a daughter, the reputation I had, justly or unjustly, acquired, brought on me a train of expenses not easy to describe, to avoid, or to estimate; so that without so much as keeping a horse, (which the kindness of Mr. Russell made unnecessary,) the expense of housekeeping, &c., was more than double the amount of any regular income that I had.

In the preceding pages of his narrative, Dr. Priestley has occasionally anticipated circumstances which occurred during his residence at Birmingham. The following correspondence, while illustrating his Memoirs, will bring to frequent recollection those events, of mighty, and still extending influence, which had previously engaged his earnest solicitude. It will also describe the variety of his pursuits, his favourite associations, and the progress of his inquiries, from the commencement to the termination of his liberal connexion with the Earl of Shelburne. That nobleman may, perhaps, be not unjustly regarded as having, at length, yielded to an aspiring statesman's policy, when he declined the disparaging society of an unworldly, though an eminently enlightened, philosopher. This, however, at "a day too late," Lord Shelburne again discovered that he could duly appreciate.*

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.†

DEAR SIR,

Calne, August 3, 1773.

YOU will think, and not without appearance of reason, that I am become negligent of your correspondence; but the business I have had upon my hands in packing, removing, and unpacking my things, which is by no means quite over yet, has deranged all my correspondence, and I am afraid it will be some time before I shall get into a regular way again in any respect.

Since I wrote to you I have printed a small pamphlet containing some "Considerations for the use of Young Men."‡ They were originally designed for the use of some particular persons of my acquaintance;§ but Dr. Price, and some others of my friends, thought they might be more generally useful.

* See *supra*, p. 207.

† See *supra*, p. 151.

‡ "And the Parents of Young Men." W. XXV. 68—80.

§ See *ibid.* p. 9, note ||.

I shall inclose a copy. I shall also desire Mr. Johnson to send you a copy of my Farewell Sermon.* Lest I should forget, do you mention it to him, and he will not doubt your authority.

It would certainly be a very great satisfaction to me to see you at Taunton,† and I hope that, some time or other, I shall have that pleasure; but I find it must not be this summer.

I am printing a pamphlet on the subject of the Dissenters' bill.‡ When it is finished I shall also beg your acceptance of a copy of it. At your leisure I shall expect to be favoured both with the remainder of your sermons on baptism,§ and also that which you say you have addressed to the rational Dissenters.|| Such addresses are much wanted.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Sep. 26, 1773.

YOUR publication¶ will not at all interfere with mine, and I beg you would proceed, without loss of time, as I think it will be peculiarly seasonable.

I shall be much obliged to you for your discourse on Baptism, and be assured that I shall read, not only with candour, but with prepossession, every thing that comes from you. With respect to the subject of the Appeal, &c., I think your judgment and your manner much better than mine. I propose to revise the whole for one uniform publication when I go to London in the winter. I am really charmed with your answer

* See *supra*, p. 189, note *.

† See *supra*, p. 189.

‡ "A Letter of Advice to those Dissenters who conduct the Application to Parliament for Relief from certain Penal Laws, with various Observations relating to similar Subjects. By the Author of the 'Free Address to Protestant Dissenters as such.'" W. XXII. 441—498. The Preface is dated from "Calne, July, 1773."

§ See *supra*, p. 187.

|| "Two Letters on the late Application to Parliament. One, an Address to the Dissenting Laity. The other, an Inquiry into the Lawfulness of the Declaration. 1774." See *supra*, p. 163, note §, *ad fin.* p. 173. The author "maintains the lawfulness," but "afterwards renounced the sentiment." M. R. X. 671.

¶ "Two Letters, dedicated to the Committee, Nov. 17, 1773."

to *Candidus*, and if any thing will do it, should expect some good effect from it.

I am busy in prosecuting my experiments on Air, and with considerable success, so that for the present I attend to little else.

I hope you will excuse this short letter; but really I am writing in company, but was unwilling to delay my letter any longer.

My wife's and my own best respects to Mrs. Toulmin.

P. S. All my friends write to me under cover to Lord Shelburne.

TO SIR JOHN PRINGLE.

DEAR SIR,

London, Dec. 7, 1773.

HAVING pursued my experiments on different kinds of air considerably farther in several respects than I had done when I presented the last account of them to the Royal Society, and being encouraged by the favourable notice which the Society has been pleased to take of them, I shall continue my communications on this subject; but without waiting for the result of a variety of processes, which I have now going on, or of other experiments which I propose to make, I shall, from time to time, communicate such detached articles as I shall have given the most attention to, and with respect to which I shall have been the most successful in my inquiries.

Since the publication of my papers, I have read two treatises, written by Dr. Alexander, of Edinburgh, and am exceedingly pleased with the spirit of philosophical inquiry which they discover. They appear to me to contain many new, curious, and valuable observations; but one of the conclusions which he draws from his experiments I am satisfied, from my own observations, is ill-founded, and, from the nature of it, must be dangerous; I mean his maintaining that there is nothing to be apprehended from the neighbourhood of putrid marshes.

I was particularly surprised to meet with such an opinion as this in a book inscribed to yourself, who have so clearly explained the great mischief of such a situation, in your ex-

cellent treatise on the diseases of the army. On this account, I have thought it not improper to address to you the following observations and experiments, which I think clearly demonstrate the fallacy of Dr. Alexander's reasoning, indisputably establish your doctrine, and indeed justify the apprehensions of all mankind in this case.

I think it probable enough that putrid matter, as Dr. Alexander has endeavoured to prove, will preserve other substances from putrefaction; because, being already saturated with the putrid effluvium, they cannot readily take any more; but Dr. Alexander was not aware that air that is loaded with putrid effluvium is exceedingly noxious when taken into the lungs. I have lately, however, had an opportunity of fully ascertaining how very noxious such air is.

Happening to use at Calne a much larger trough of water for the purpose of my experiments than I had done at Leeds, and not having fresh water so near at hand as I had there, I neglected to change it till it turned black, and became offensive, but by no means to such a degree as to deter me from making use of it. In this state of the water I observed bubbles of air to rise from it, and especially in one place, to which some shelves that I had in it directed them, and having set an inverted glass vessel to catch them, in a few days I collected a considerable quantity of this air, which issued spontaneously from the putrid water, and putting nitrous air to it, I found that no change of colour or diminution ensued, so that it must have been in the highest degree noxious. I repeated the same experiment several times afterwards, and always with the same result.

After this, I had the curiosity to try how wholesome air would be affected by agitation in this water; when to my real surprise I found that, after one minute only, a candle would not burn in it; and after three or four minutes, it was in the same state with the air which had issued spontaneously from the same water.

I also found that common air, confined in a glass vessel, in contact only with this water, and without any agitation, would not admit a candle to burn in it after two days.

These facts certainly demonstrate that air, which either arises from stagnant and putrid water, or which has been for some time in contact with it, must be very unfit for respiration; and yet Dr. Alexander's opinion is rendered so plausible by his experiments, that it is very possible that many persons may be rendered secure and thoughtless of danger in a situation in which they must necessarily breathe it. On this account I have thought it right to make this communication as early as I conveniently could; and as Dr. Alexander appears to be an ingenuous and benevolent man, I doubt not but he will thank me for it.

That air issuing from water, or rather from the soft earth or mud, at the bottom of pits containing water, is not always unwholesome, I have also had an opportunity of ascertaining. Taking a walk about two years ago in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, I observed bubbles of air to arise, in remarkably great plenty, from a small pool of water which, upon inquiry, I was informed, had been the place where some persons had been boring the ground in order to find coal. These bubbles of air having excited my curiosity, I presently returned with a bason and other vessels proper for my purpose, and having stirred the mud with a long stick, I soon got about a pint of this air; and, examining it, found it to be good common air; at least, a candle burned in it very well. I had not then discovered the method of ascertaining the goodness of common air by a mixture of nitrous air. Previous to the trial, I had suspected that this air would have been found to be inflammable.

I shall conclude this letter with observing, that I have found a remarkable difference in different kinds of water with respect to their effect on common air agitated in them, and which I am not yet able to account for. If I agitate common air in the water of a deep well near my house in Calne, which is hard, but clear and sweet, a candle will not burn in it after three minutes. The same is the case with the rain water which I get from the roof of my house. But in distilled water, or the water of a spring well near the house, I must agitate the air about twenty minutes before it will be so much injured. It

may be worth while to make farther experiments with respect to this property of water.

In consequence of using the rain-water and the well-water above-mentioned, I was very near concluding, contrary to what I have asserted in my printed papers, that common air suffers a decomposition by rarefaction; for when I had collected a considerable quantity of air which had been rarefied about 400 times by an excellent pump made for me by Mr. Smeaton,* I always found that, when I filled my receivers with the water above-mentioned, though I did it so gradually as to occasion as little agitation as possible, a candle would not burn in the air that remained in them. But when I used distilled water, or fresh spring water, I undeceived myself.

I think myself honoured by the attention which, from the first, you have given to my experiments.†

TO REV. W. TURNER.‡

DEAR SIR,

London, Feb. 19, 1774.

I WONDER that I do not hear from you, as I find that you have received the remainder of the volume of *Institutes*.§

* “Few made upon the common plan will rarefy more than 100 times, and in a general way, not more than 60 or 70 times; whereas this instrument must be in a poor state indeed if it do not rarefy 200 or 300 times, and sometimes even much farther.” P. S. See *supra*, p. 78.

† “Read, Dec. 16, 1773.” (See *supra*, p. 193.) *Phil. Trans.* LXIV. 90. It is immediately followed by “Farther proofs of the insalubrity of marshy situations; in a letter from the Rev. Dr. Price to the Rev. Dr. Horsley, dated Newington-Green, Dec. 21, 1773,” occasioned by “Dr. Priestley’s paper on the noxious effects of stagnant waters.” *Ibid.* p. 96.

‡ Wakefield.

§ On which Mr. Lindsey had thus written from “Catterick, Jan. 10, 1773,” to Mr. Jebb, at Cambridge:

“Dr. Priestley is now busy with the remaining volume of his *Institutes*, to finish them before he quits Leeds, which will be at Lady-day next. Many blame him, and he may be, perhaps, sometimes to be blamed, for publishing in too hasty a way. But perhaps it is owing to this very temper that he publishes at all, and therefore great allowances should be made, where needed, of this sort.

“He has been, and I hope his life will be prolonged, that he may continue to be, a most useful servant of God, and promoter of his truth and glory, both in the natural and moral world.” *Orig. MS.*

There will be much more room for censure there than in the former part; but I hope soon to have your freest sentiments about it.

Dr. Kippis has undertaken to review the Repository, and thinks it will gratify the public and facilitate the revival of the work if the principal writers will allow him to give their names.* I hope that you who are the principal writer will not refuse yours. Your pieces are unquestionably the most valuable in the whole work, and cannot but do you great credit.

My Discourse on giving the Lord's Supper to Children, is now published.† I shall send you a copy by my wife, who will be with me on Monday next, and after staying about a week, will go to Leeds, whither I should be very happy to accompany her, but I am afraid it will not be possible. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to see you once more, just as I used to do.

I have been of late more fortunate than ever in my philosophical pursuits, and now intend to publish an account of all I have done about air in a separate volume immediately.‡

The Dissenting Committee waver much about their application to parliament.§ Some of them have been influenced by courtiers. What they will do I cannot tell, nor do any of themselves know. This delay is very hurtful.

Mr. Lindsey I see almost every day; he and Mrs. Lindsey are both in good health and spirits. His liturgy is almost ready for the press,|| but we have not yet got him a place of

* "In *Mon. Rev.* (1776), LIV. 134, there is a very correct account of the writers, so far as they had come to the knowledge of the Editor, by whom they were furnished to Dr. Kippis, the Reviewer of the work." V. F. See M. R. XII. 601.

† Dr. Priestley declares himself "fully satisfied that infant communion, as well as infant baptism, [see *supra*, p. 111,] was the most ancient custom in the Christian church." This opinion he finds "ably defended" in Mr. James Peirce's "Essay in favour of the Practice." See "An Address to the Protestant Dissenters," &c., W. XXI. 354—373; where I have largely quoted Mr. Peirce, and have shewn that Bishop Taylor, in his "Worthy Communicant," frequently advocates the same opinion.

‡ See W. XXV. 371, *note* †.

§ See *supra*, p. 170.

|| It soon appeared, under the title of "The Book of Common Prayer,

worship. I am afraid we shall find great difficulty in it. Sir John Pringle,* and many of his own acquaintance, are very cool now that the thing is going to be put into execution, being ashamed to appear in it. They take great pains to dissuade

Reformed for the Use of the Chapel in Essex Street." Mr. Belsham says, "700 copies were sold in six weeks." *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 102, 113, *ad fin.* 544.

Mr. Lindsey, in a letter to Mr. Turner from "Achurch, Jan. 5, 1774," had said,

"Dr. Priestley is, indeed, a warm and true friend to me, and to the cause of God's truth, which he has most earnestly at heart. He has signified to me his kind efforts in my behalf, and their success, and I cannot but rejoice that there is an opening so promising for something to be done in the way I wished, and we all preferred, though I must no less acknowledge your kind efforts before, to have helped me in another way.

"When I wrote to you from Swinderby, I had a design to have printed Dr. Clarke's amendments exactly as he left them. And I still think of doing it, if no other hand steps in before to do it. But since I have heard from Dr. Priestley, my thoughts have been more turned to have a liturgy drawn up, which might take in as much as might be of our liturgy, and after Dr. Clarke's plan, with no addresses, but to the one God, the Father; but at the same time with improvements, and a greater variety of sentiment, such as might equally affect and edify the learned and unlearned." *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, pp. 84, *note* *, 131, *note* ¶.

* Mr. Lindsey thus writes from "London, Feb. 26, 1774," to Mr. Jebb, at Cambridge:

"I was this morning with Dr. H. [probably Heberden,] and am to meet Sir J. Pringle, and some other company, at his house on Friday next. Sir John objects to my plan, and is cool about it, but we shall see what he says himself, if he will say any thing. Dr. H. is not for it; but yet, in a most friendly manner, wishes success: pressed exceedingly to exhibit Dr. Clarke's emendations, *verbatim*, if I could; but I told him that could not be done.

"I meet with various discouragements, and must expect more; but I bless God I am not discouraged. I hope I have, and pray I may have, a single eye to him alone, and his truth, which I trust will this way be likely to be promoted, and with it the practice of true piety and integrity.

"I am advised to go to America, and promised support. I have the offer of an easy preferment, a kind of sinecure in the school-way, near London. But these things move me not. I am, however, moved, as I ought, and thankful for several most friendly letters, with and without names, full of animating words. I have been invited by a respectable society among the Dissenters, in a way that does them much credit, and me great honour. But enough, too much, of these things." *Orig. MS.*

About this time Dr. Priestley published his "Letter to a Layman, on the

him from it, but he is nobly inflexible. I have seen the York paper, and we ascribe the excellent answer to *Erasmus** to you.

Subject of the Rev. Mr. Lindsey's Proposal for a Reformed English Church, upon the Plan of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke." W. XXI. 29—42.

Miss Harrison, (afterwards Mrs. Cappe,) thus writes from "Bedale, April 3, 1774," to Mr. Turner :

"I was much obliged to you for mentioning the 'Letter to a Layman,' which I admire and approve very much. The subject is surely of the utmost importance; but it is not easy for us who have been taught obedience to the Church of England to get clear of our own and other people's prejudices, so as to be able to leave it entirely. Yet this is surely now required of us.

"I have circulated the 'Letter to a Layman' as much as has been in my power, and fully intend continuing so to do." *Orig. MS.*

* "Dr. Cooper, a dignitary of the cathedral at York," whose attack on Mr. Lindsey "brought forward a host of advocates of the fair fame of the calumniated confessor. In the foremost rank were the Rev. N. Cappe and the Rev. W. Turner." *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 90, 91, *note*.

Miss Harrison, in the letter just quoted, says, "How happy that Erasmus was confronted by so very able and fine a writer, for Mr. Cappe has a most pleasing style of controversy, independent of his great superiority in other respects." (See *Mem. of N. Cappe*, pp. 29—31.)

"I dare not mention 'One of the People' in the way I could wish, because I suspect it came from Wakefield."

The following extracts from Mr. Lindsey's letter to Mr. Turner, dated "London, Feb. 9, 1774," may serve to illustrate this subject, and those which have preceded.

"No other pen but yours could have written that fine, calm, Christian, convincing reply to Erasmus, i. e. W. Cooper, M. A. I thank you for it, as I ought, and cannot but feel some encouragement from it, as it is truly *laudari a laudato viro*." *Orig. MS.*

Yet, "March 17," Mr. Lindsey says, "You do well to tell me that you were not the writer of that first reply, which I saw, to Erasmus; for I must tell you that Dr. Priestley ascribed it to you as well as myself." *Orig. MS.* "Feb. 9," Mr. Lindsey farther says,

"I am sorry to inform you, that a negative has been put upon your application to parliament this session, by the committee, notwithstanding the efforts of Drs. Price, Kippis, Amory, Jeffries, &c., to the contrary. The court have succeeded too well in hushing *you*, and think thereby to lay all the business about reformation quiet.

"The Bishop of Carlisle told me yesterday, that he heard it in great company boasted, above a month ago, that the Dissenters would now be quiet, and be contented to receive at the bishops' motion and hands, hereafter, what further liberty and latitude may be thought good to allow them.

"You well observe, that it will be difficult to satisfy one'sself, or the scrip-

My most respectful compliments to Mrs. Turner, and love to your boys.

My respects to Mr. James Milnes. I am promoting a subscription among my friends to defray Mr. Lindsey's necessary expenses in hiring a place of worship, and other things requisite to his entering upon his scheme. Probably Mr. Milnes may be pleased to be told of it, and choose to contribute to it.*

tural Christian, in reforming our liturgy, if closely kept to. There are, certainly, many things that require alteration in Dr. Clarke, though he has been right as to the object of worship. The perpetual termination and burden, for instance, of every prayer, *per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum*, without any countenance from holy scripture. Praise and glory is often ascribed to God, through Jesus Christ, but never any thing asked through Jesus Christ. This distinction has only struck me lately.

"Our Church superiors are said to glory in laying every thing to sleep. Our design of a reformed liturgy is much spoken against by them, and highly condemned, as forward, schismatical, and I know not what; and intimations given us, as if such an attempt would not be suffered. But these things deter not one person. I hope they will not others.

"Dr. Priestley is indefatigable in his endeavours; and to him, Dr. Price, and other friends of theirs, will it be owing that the matter is brought to bear at last; as they kindly offer, by the subscription of their friends, to indemnify me in the first onset." *Orig. MS.*

"Feb. 12," Mr. Lindsey thus writes to Mr. Jebb:

"I went with Dr. Priestley this forenoon to Mr. Hartley's, to see his experiment to prevent houses taking fire. We met there a great deal of good company: the Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Price, Dr. Franklin, and lords, and others. The two Drs. P. appeared much dejected at not going into the House this session." *Orig. MS.*

Mr. David artley, Heldest son of Dr. Hartley, died, 1814, aged 79. M. R. XIII. 128. See *supra*, p. 211, *note* †; W. III. 6, *note* *. I cannot forbear here to repeat, that in 1776, when M. P., he moved, (seconded by Sir George Savile,) that "the Slave-Trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of men." He had laid on the table of the House some of the chains employed in the traffic.

Mr. Hartley proposed to hinder the communication of fire by placing very thin iron plates under every floor. His invention, notwithstanding several very encouraging experiments, was never brought into general use. I had a mortifying occasion, several years after this period, to witness its entire failure.

* Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, "March 17, 1774," says, "It is but lately that I heard from Dr. Priestley that he had applied to the worthy Mr. Milnes in behalf of our young establishment. He has some title to know, for the particular patronage he gives the design, that our liturgy is in the press, and that our room is this week to be begun with, and fitted up chapel-wise." *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.*

DEAR SIR,

London, March 25, 1774.

I AM much obliged for your friendly concern on account of my late bad state of health. I thank God I have been for some time perfectly recovered, and I think have better health than I ever had in my life. My situation is, in all respects, perfectly agreeable to me, except that I cannot be so much with my family as I could wish.

If you would allow me to advise you with respect to a *telescope*, I would recommend an *achromatic* one, rather than a reflector. They are not dearer, and magnify as much, in proportion to the length. I fancy you would like best one that Mr. Dolland sells for eleven guineas. It magnifies fifty times for land objects, and eighty for the celestial. If you choose this kind and size, I will let you have one that Mr. Dolland let me have, as the best he could make, and I can take an opportunity to provide myself with another.

I hope Mr. Lindsey will soon open his new church,† and I

* Kendal.

† See *supra*, pp. 224, 225. On his present prospects, the attention his design had excited, and the Christian purposes he wished to serve, Mr. Lindsey thus writes :

To Mr. Jebb, "Feb. 28. My chief anxiety is about a proper place. I am not negligent about it, but have not yet succeeded. If we should fail of any thing better, we must at first, and for a time, take up with a pretty large room in Essex House, Essex Street, that has been used for auctions, fitting it up chapel-wise.

"Were it not making an obscure man of too much importance, I might tell you that two of the Commons' House have desired to see me, and to divert me from a design which will turn that general compassion now shewn towards me into open hostility and hatred. I wish no other situation but that in which I may be made instrumental in removing the shocking snares that are in the way of conscientious men, and the impure idolatries of Christian worship." *Orig. MS.*

To Mr. Turner, "May 7. After long searches we have at last met with a room, which may do for a chapel, though we should have been more glad of one of the many that have been formerly such, but are now turned into warehouses, exhibition-rooms, &c. The liturgy, also, is finished, and part of it at the press. It has had the approbation of many wise and good men, and some, our common friends, particularly Drs. Price and Priestley. This

think his prospects on the whole not unpromising. We are raising a subscription to indemnify him for the trial, in paying the rent of a place of worship for two years, pewing it, &c., &c. The estimate is not quite 200*l.*, and we shall be glad of any assistance you and other friends of religious liberty can afford us. I have the honour to be the agent in this good work.

The Dissenters, in my opinion, and that of many others, have disgraced themselves by not renewing their application to Parliament this session, as it is entirely owing to court persuasion. Dr. Kippis, Dr. Price, and one or two more, made a strong protest against the determination of their brethren.*

latter spent the whole day with us yesterday, (Sunday,) when we joined our moans together on account of your silence. He is very well in health, but in trouble for Mrs. Jones's precarious state." *Orig. MS.*

To Mr. Jebb, "March 28. I have seen our friend Wywill twice. Perhaps you have heard from him. A great change is made in his outward fortunes, being vastly enlarged, but none in his mind. He much approves our present plan of a reformed liturgy; but he had many fears about its execution. One was, lest it should be merely Socinian.

"To ease his mind in this respect, as he knew Dr. Price, (who is, without doubt, the most enlightened Arian any where,) I told him that he had reviewed and approved it entirely, which is the fact, and what I have been much pleased with; and I may mention, that he objected to one phrase, which you Socinians had let pass more than once, where Christ is said to reign with the Father, *world without end*. He thought it too much to be said of any, the most exalted creature, and what the scripture doth not say." *Orig. MS.*

To the same, "April 9, 1774. When I came home to-night, the following tetrastich, in large capitals, was pasted upon the street door of our lodgings:

Of old, Theophilus did maintain,
That prayers to Jesus are great gain;
But Theophilus Lindsey doth profess,
That Arian prayers are godliness.

I have an anonymous letter with the same, and a note to it." *Orig. MS.*

* Lindsey to Turner, "March 7. You do nothing this session. You have been tricked by the dispersers of the *Regium Donum*, and their influence, and that of one or two men in particular about Court." *Orig. MS.*

Dr. Price "being once applied to for his vote, by the late Sir Edmund Thomas, when canvassing for the county of Glamorgan, and being offered that worthy baronet's interest to procure him the disposal of this money among

The author of the "Letter to the Bishop of Landaff" is Mr. Thomas, Dissenting minister at Malmsbury.*

his brethren, he immediately replied, that the best service Sir Edmund could render to him or his brethren would be to advise the king's ministers to discontinue a donation which could only be regarded by every independent Dissenter as the price of his liberty." *Mem. of Price*, pp. 36, 37.

* On occasion of the Dissenting ministers' second application, April 1773, (*supra*, p. 163, W. XXII. p. 442, *notes*,) the bishop, (Shute Barrington, *supra*, p. 170,) had argued before the Lords that "the Dissenters had no right to be exempted from subscription because they did not believe the articles." This the letter-writer calls "a notable reason," followed by "quotation upon quotation, till Chatham himself cried oh!" He adds,

"I will allow that the Dissenters are a little philosophically inclined; that they cannot madden with the enthusiast, nor meanly subscribe old wives' fables with the superstitious; that they consider the gospel as their only rule of faith and conduct, and deduce their religious science from thence; and that they regard other formularies as the mere offspring of folly, ignorance, or impious policy.

"Did you think religion in danger from such men as Foster, Leland, Lardner, Taylor, and Chandler, who are gone before to receive the reward of righteousness? or from those who now await the day of the Lord, such as a Price, Priestley, Farmer, and a fair catalogue of others, whose names are dear to Christianity?"

In a note, the letter-writer professes to "know several, who, notwithstanding their avowed disbelief and contempt of religion in general, are in high esteem with the *high* clergy, because, though they deny our Saviour, they reverence his successors, and are zealous for the hierarchy, though they laugh at Christianity."

Digressing from his "tête-à-tête" with Bishop Barrington, he thus greets, but "with no friendly voice," another prelate, whose inconsistent and too secular clerical life has been rather kindly excused than deservedly estimated:

"I cannot forget Dr. Law, Prebend of Durham, Archdeacon of Stafford, Master of Peter House, and Bishop of Carlisle. One might naturally have expected that he who has been so intimate with Dissenters, who has frequently corresponded with Dissenting parsons, and even published a letter from the late Dr. Taylor, would have stood up and spoke one word in behalf of his old friends.

"No such favours, it seems, must be expected from bishops; no friendship beyond a *dear Sir*; no kindness beyond a smile; nor any toleration this side of *subscription*. I know not how he voted, whether *for* or *against* the petition. This I know, I despise a half-friend more than I do a feeble enemy." *Letter*, (1774,) pp. 7, 13, 14, 38, 39.

Lindsey to Jebb, says, "Feb. 12. The pamphlet to the Bishop of Landaff has only been delayed advertising whilst a new title-page was printing, Buckland refusing to have his name as bookseller to it." *Orig. MS.* The publishers were "J. Johnson, London, and T. Cadell, Bristol."

All my friends direct to me under cover to Lord Shelburne, as you have done.

P. S. I have much enlarged my "Observations on Air," and have a work in the press on that subject.

TO REV. N. CAPPE.

London, March, 1774.

I AM most exceedingly concerned to hear of the alarming symptoms you mention,* and am sorry that my work† should be in your hands so very unseasonably; though I value your remarks so much, that I would rather wait half a year than proceed without them. I am so truly sensible of your superior judgment in these things, that there is hardly a hint that you have suggested which I have not adopted in what is yet printed of the Institutes.‡

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.§

DEAR SIR,

Calne, May 31, 1774.

ON Saturday the 22nd I sent from hence my *achromatic telescope*. You will find two eye-pieces; a short one, which inverts objects, and magnifies eighty times; and a longer, which magnifies fifty times. The former, therefore, is more proper for celestial objects, and the latter for terrestrial.

If you be viewing a small and very luminous object, as Venus, or a fixed star, it will be necessary to have a much smaller *aperture* than the diameter of the object glass. An opening of the diameter of an inch is quite sufficient. For this purpose I made a paste-board cap, to slip on to the end of the telescope, over which I had pasted another paper, with such a hole in it. If I had not lost it, I would have sent it you, but you will easily make one for yourself, or perhaps contrive something better. The use of it is only to exclude all the

* See *Mem. of N. Cappe*, p. 32, *infra*.

† The Institutes. See *supra*, pp. 158, 202.

‡ For this extract I am indebted to Mrs. Cappe's "Life of N. Cappe," (1820,) pp. 41, 42.

§ "Kendal."

rays, except those that fall very near the centre of the object glass.

I believe you will find the telescope a very good one. Mr. Walker, the Lecturer in Experimental Philosophy,* and myself, compared it with a reflector of his own of the same length, and which cost more, and he acknowledged mine was much better, and he had boasted of his very much, as a very good one of its kind; and this has the advantage of being much lighter, and more manageable. The screw near the eye-glass serves to adjust the instrument to the eye, and the distance of objects. It is now a good deal out of its place, in order to make the telescope go into the box.

I do not think of any thing else that I can say about it, to be of any use to you. Indeed, no telescope whatever can be more easy to manage. You will find the *Nautical Almanack*, which is published annually, price 1s. 6d., very useful.

I thank you, in Mr. Lindsey's name, for your subscription. I heard from him lately, and have the pleasure to inform you that his affairs are in a very good train.† The sum I men-

* See *supra*, p. 152.

† "On Sunday, April 17, 1774," says Mr. Belsham, "the chapel was opened, and divine service was performed before an audience as numerous as could in reason be expected, and as respectable for rank and character as were ever collected together upon a similar occasion." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 110. The sermon was soon after published.

Dr. Franklin, as well as Drs. Priestley, Calder, Chambers, Primatt, &c., were of the congregation. The originals of the following notices were once in my possession:

"Dr. Franklin presents his respects to Lord Le Despencer, and acquaints him that Mr. Lindsey's church opens this day at 11 o'clock, in Essex House, Essex Street, Strand; and that if his lordship continues his intention of being there, Dr. F. will be ready to attend him.

"Craven Street, Sunday morning, 8 o'clock."

"I have just sent my Lord Le Despencer word that the place is in Essex House, in Essex Street, Strand; the hour eleven.—I shall be glad to meet you there.—Thanks for the pamphlet, &c.

"Your's affectionately,

"G. Whatley, Esq."—M. R. III. 540.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Mr. Lindsey writes to Mr. Jebb, "April 18, 1774. Lord Le Despencer was at our chapel yesterday. Whether he will come again, we cannot say; but he has subscribed handsomely towards indemnifying us for the ex-

tioned* is raised; but I believe he will be obliged to build a place before the next winter, for which purpose a larger sum will be wanted; but that is not absolutely determined yet.

Almost all my friends are as much dissatisfied as you are with the reasons alleged by the Committee for postponing the application to Parliament. The plain fact was certainly no other or better than you say. Dr. Price and Dr. Kippis are exceedingly displeased at it;† but this good may come of it, that having now done with this particular bill, they can begin again, if ever they do begin, without any *declaration*, which has divided and embarrassed us so much. I do not know the author of the pamphlet you mention. I think of it exactly as you do.

I do not expect that the account of my experiments on air will give you so much satisfaction as you expect, owing to the great difference between *seeing* and *reading*. I have not yet found any person, though ever so good a philosopher, and who has read my papers ever so carefully, but is surprised to see me actually make the experiments. But the directions I have given are sufficient to enable any person to do every thing after me.

In the preface to the third volume of my *Institutes* I have given some strictures on Dr. Oswald, Beattie and Reid; and I propose to consider the scheme of those writers more fully. But previous to that, I shall republish *Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind*, as far as it depends upon association of ideas only, with some dissertations of my own. This I am now about.

I believe I shall accompany Lord Shelburne in a tour through Holland, Flanders, and to Paris, towards the end of summer,‡ but shall be glad to hear from you in the mean time.

penses of the chapel, &c." *Orig. MS.* Mr. Belsham has largely quoted this letter.

With Mr. Whatley, Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital, Dr. Franklin maintained a long acquaintance. His letters at 82, to Mr. W. at 78, were once in my possession. See *M. R. I.* 136, 256.

* *Supra*, p. 229.

† See *supra*, p. 202.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 197, 198.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, June 4, 1774.

I HAVE long owed Mr. Honeyman* a letter, and to-morrow I think to write to him, and join with you in dissuading him from his strange purpose.

I see no impropriety in your acknowledging Mr. Rotheram's benefaction,† as he did not wish to conceal it from you.

I have received great pleasure from your last, especially the copy of Mr. B. Turner's letter.‡ I doubt not of your meeting with sufficient encouragement, and that the number of your constant hearers and subscribers will increase. I shall be glad to be informed of the amount of the annual subscriptions. I would, by all means, push the scheme of building, or something equivalent. You will run no risk by any moderate undertaking of that kind.

Mr. Johnson mentions to me his wish that you would publish your Sermon on the Lord's Supper, but that you have not yet consented to do it.§ I wish you would take sufficient care that your hearers be apprized of your sentiments on that subject; but perhaps it may be advisable not to publish any thing more, at least till the next winter, lest it should be construed to a catching at every opportunity of publishing. But you are the best judge yourself.

I cannot say that I have any desire to see the answer to your Apology. || I should be glad to hear of a dozen answers; but I would be excused reading them. Your conduct is much talked of in this part of the country, and I see, every day, more than before, the great effect and importance of it. I wish the Archdeacon could hear but one of the many compa-

* See *supra*, p. 141, note *.

† See *supra*, p. 232.

‡ For which, see *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 123. Sir Barnard Turner became very popular in the city from his exertions in quelling the riots, 1780; and was chosen M. P. for Southwark. He died, by an accident, in the prime of life, in embarrassed circumstances; but had the honour of a public funeral.

§ It was never published, at least, separately. See *ibid.* p. 544.

|| "A Scriptural Confutation," by "Mr. Burgh, of York, a member of the Irish parliament." *Ibid.* pp. 129, 130.

risons that I hear between his conduct and yours.* Your conduct will greatly promote the *cause* of the petitioning clergy,† but I find will be of no service to the *men* and their characters. Every body says that they ought, all of them, to do as you have done; and they really are not spoken of with the compassion or esteem that they were before your resignation. This they must feel, and therefore many of them will not be your cordial friends.

I have written to Dr. Price by this post. He will tell you what I have been doing, which, indeed, is not much. I have just opened my *experimental* campaign with considerable success, having met with several new and surprising facts.

Mrs. Jones‡ is rather better. My wife joins me in respects to you both.

I am afraid I shall overload Mr. Johnson's frank, and therefore shall send Mr. Honeyman's letter the next time I write.

FROM MR. JOHN HENDERSON.§

SIR,

Hanham,|| August 1774.

I HOPE your goodness will pardon this presumption from a stranger unworthy your notice; and likewise my not franking this letter, as I have no franks, and can get none. If you can

* See *supra*, pp. 82—84, *notes*.

† By whom, Dr. Priestley, at an earlier period, had been regarded as a too rigid censor. Mr. Lindsey thus writes from "Catterick, March 2, 1773," to Mr. Jebb, at Cambridge:

"Dr. Priestley is incapable of writing any thing to disparage us or our cause; though I may say it to you, that one person, last year, prevented his writing against Dr. B. D., who, he thought, wantonly, and without the least provocation, had attacked him in that posthumous work of Jones's, which he published. And I am rather sorry that he has mentioned the Doctor's name again in his answer to Balguy. Such little petulancies may as well be spared." *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 167, 168.

‡ See *supra*, p. 229, *note* †.

§ Afterwards of Pembroke College, Oxford; now about the age of 18, for "he died Nov. 2, 1788, in his 32nd year." There is an account of Mr. Henderson's various learning, benevolent character, and harmless singularities, in "Selections from *Gent. Mag.* IV. 221—224." See M. R. VII. 289—292; X. 179.

|| Near Bristol.

condescend thus much, I have one request more, that you would answer me.

I was brought up with some prejudices of education, which I hope I have now got over. This I owe in no small measure to the candour of my father, who, though he inculcated his own principles on me, left me to my own judgment. At first I received these principles without hesitation, and soon became acquainted with the best arguments for them. I had no opportunity for a long time to converse with judicious men of contrary sentiments, so that I easily vanquished those who contradicted me. But yet my mind suggested many difficulties which I could not solve. Hence I began to doubt. Imparting my doubts to some friends, I was told there were mysteries in religion; that I should take God's word for them, and pry no further. This satisfied me for awhile, but not long; for I considered, let a mystery be what it may, God would not deliver absurdities. Again, it does not follow that all our Bible is divine because some is. And if any part of our Bible contain absurdities, &c., that part is not divine. I could not get books on any subject. I wanted instruction on predestination, remission of sins, assistance of the spirit, eternity of hell torments, and various other points. My friends could not satisfy me. At length I surmounted these difficulties, wading through many doubts, and little less than infidelity. I now believe that the prophecies in our Bible were given by God; that the Gospels are true; that whatever we believe should accord with the speeches of Christ therein recorded. I believe the doctrine of original sin to be absurd. I believe the spirit of God only assists our apprehension. I believe the foreknowledge of God, held by the Arminians, to be equal to the decree of God, held by the Calvinists: that they are both wrong; and the truth is, the pains of hell are purgatory. These I believe; and have reasons which I think substantial for them. Many things I yet doubt of; among these are the Trinity, and the mediation of Christ.

I am in such a state of mind as to be shocked at no assertion, and to submit to any argument which I cannot answer.

I beg that you would be pleased to assist me in the media-

tion of Christ; for I own I do not like the doctrine of his being a sacrifice; yet he is so represented by Paul and John. And, though I am not certain of the infallibility of the Epistles, yet I do not choose to contradict them, lest they may be true.

P. S. Please to direct for me at Mr. Wait's grocer, in Castle Street, Bristol.*

TO THE HONOURABLE MR. PETTY.†

DEAR MR. PETTY,

Lisle, August 26, 1774.

As I am sure your curiosity is not less than your brother's, I shall endeavour to gratify it by resuming our journal where your papa left off.

I was very much struck with the appearance of Calais, as it was the first fortified town I had ever seen; being surrounded with a deep ditch and strong walls, built in such a manner as to make it very difficult to be taken by an enemy. St. Omers, Aire, Bethune, and Lisle, which we have seen since, are all fortified in the same manner; and they have all spacious market places, where the inhabitants may be assembled, and where the soldiers can parade. All these towns are much better built than the generality of towns in England. In Lisle, especially, the houses are curiously ornamented towards the street with figures of heads, festoons, and other decorations. The rooms in the inns which we have seen are exceedingly large and lofty; and the furniture, though it has, in some respects, the air of great magnificence, is in general ill made, and not elegant; most things being finished in a manner that

* *Selections*, III. 167; M. R. VII. 286; as communicated to *Gent. Mag.* by Dr. Priestley, in 1789, with another letter, which will appear, *infra*, in the correspondence, 1777.

† See *supra*, p. 201. The three MS. letters from the continent to the sons of Lord Shelburne are copies, on which is written, in Dr. Priestley's *autograph*, "A Journal of a Tour through Flanders, Holland, Part of Germany, and France."

On his emigration, in 1794, Dr. Priestley left this MS. with Mr. Belsham, to the friendship of whose executor I am indebted, with many other similar attentions, for the present use of it.

we should be ashamed of in England. Their fire-places are much unlike ours, but pretty enough, and they are all made for the burning of wood, as the country produces no coal.

Having dined at Calais, we reached St. Omers, but not till after it was dark; by which means we were deprived of the sight of a good part of the country, which has improved upon us ever since we left Calais. In the neighbourhood of that place we found the ground miserably neglected, and yielding hardly any thing at all. We were particularly surprised to find a great deal of hay in the fields, some just mowed, and a field of oats quite green. But every thing wore a much better aspect as we advanced farther into the country; and yesterday, in which we travelled from St. Omers to Lisle, we saw every where the finest cultivation possible, and the harvest nearly got in. It seemed to be much superior to the generality of English husbandry; but we have yet seen no inclosures, and hardly any grass or meads, cows or sheep; these being fed in places where the soil is not so rich. At Bethune we were amused as we went through the market with a sight of a number of the slenderest and leanest pigs we had ever seen. They might almost have been taken for greyhounds. The horses we have seen are, in general, small, lean, and not at all handsome; but, notwithstanding, very active, and do their business very well. You would have smiled if you had been with us this morning, and seen, as I did, dogs drawing little carts with very considerable loads, and men drawing sedan chairs mounted on wheels. By this means, however, people are very well carried, and one man does the work of two with us.

All the way we have come, we were surprised at the prodigious quantity of tall, fine beans, which are all standing, and especially with the plantations of tobacco and poppies, which are not cultivated in England. The tobacco was very green, and looked exceedingly beautiful; the poppies were all reaped and formed into sheaves or ricks. We could not imagine of what use so much poppy seed could be, but upon inquiry we were informed that they get a great deal of oil from them, and that the many windmills we saw in that neighbourhood were all employed to press that oil, which is used for lamps.

Though you are not a man of gallantry, yet, as you are an observer of human nature, I must tell you what has struck me most relating to the women we have seen. Many of them, even those who are well dressed, walk the streets in slippers, without any thing to cover the heel; so that, except the toe, the whole foot is seen as they walk, which to me, who never saw the like before, looked slatternly and indelicate. Almost all the women are dressed in what we call a French night-cap, which almost covers their cheeks; and we saw a great number of country women going to and from the market of Bethune, many of them in carts, with their heads dressed particularly neat; but not one of them had any hat to screen them from the sun or rain; nor have we seen one woman with a hat on since we left England. By this means they soon get sun-burned and look ugly, while the men wear very large hats and save their faces. Instead of cloaks, the women of all ranks have a square piece of cloth or stuff which they throw over their shoulders or their heads at pleasure; and sometimes it is so large as to reach almost to their feet. Betwixt Lisle and Ghent, which we reached on Saturday, the country women were provided with straw bonnets, which, though not very elegant, must be very convenient. All the better sort of people, men as well as women, when they walk out in the sun or the rain, hold an umbrella in their hands, and sometimes one of them will serve for two persons. A number of these umbrellas have a very pretty appearance in a street, especially as they are of different colours, and the fashion of them is elegant; but they would by no means do in the streets of London, or any crowded place; for they necessarily take up a good deal of room.

At Lisle, you, as having a military turn, would have received great pleasure from what was not only irksome, but a cause of a good deal of pain to me. This was the review of a regiment of French soldiers in compliment to your papa. They did not fire, but they performed a variety of new and very useful evolutions lately introduced by the King of Prussia. The pain that I felt on the occasion did not arise from any consideration of the mischief that this new discipline might enable the

French to do us in any future war, but from a cold that I got at the time, which affected my teeth very much.

Being suddenly called to close my letter by an opportunity that just offers of sending it to England, I can only conclude with assuring you that this journal shall be continued, and that I shall think myself very happy if it contributes to your amusement.

With the greatest affection, I am, dear Mr. Petty, yours sincerely.

Brussels, 30th August, 1774.

I beg my respectful compliments to Lord Fitzmaurice and Mr. Jervis.

TO THE HONOURABLE LORD FITZMAURICE.*

Amsterdam, Sep. 6, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD FITZMAURICE,

YOUR brother will, I hope, before this time, have communicated to you the account I sent him of our travels as far as Lisle, and it is with great pleasure that I now sit down to send you an account of our progress from thence to Amsterdam, where we now are, and where we propose to stay a few days.

We left Lisle on Saturday, the 27th of August, and passing through Menin and Courtray, both fortified towns, arrived at Ghent before dinner, and from thence we set out the next day and arrived at Brussels before night. There we waited upon the Duke D'Arenberg and dined with him in town the next day, and the day following in the country, at Engyen, about fifteen miles from Brussels.

On Thursday, the first of September, we left Brussels, and passing through Mechlin, got to Antwerp before dinner; and setting out from thence early the next morning, we arrived, after a very fatiguing journey, at Rotterdam, but in the dark.

The whole of Austrian Flanders is highly cultivated and populous. The farm-houses seemed to be substantially good, and the poorest people we met, tolerably well clothed. Indeed, we have not yet seen any people so exceedingly shabby and

* See *supra*, p. 202.

wretched as the poor of Calne. It is something remarkable, however, that in this country the boys that beg on the way-side have the very same ridiculous custom of tumbling and standing on their heads that you will see at Studley, and which I have also seen in one part of Yorkshire. But here we once saw a girl standing on her head for this purpose. You may be assured that we did not encourage so much idleness and indecency by giving them any thing, though the custom could not have been established, if others had not been diverted with it and countenanced it.

This country has formerly produced very excellent painters, especially the celebrated Rubens; and though (which is very remarkable) they can boast of no painters at present, the rich and curious give immense sums for pictures to furnish their cabinets, and some make a gainful traffic of buying to sell again. A curious character of this kind we met with at Ghent, who took no little pains, and used a good deal of address, to take in your papa. We got a sight of his pictures over night, and as he was very importunate, partly promised to see him again the next morning. However, as we were walking in the church, the next morning, which was Sunday, we happened to pass by a confessional chair where he was confessing an old woman; and the moment he cast his eyes upon us, he gave us an intimation that he would be with us immediately; and so despatching his penitent with a most indecent hurry, he presently joined us. It was then impossible to avoid going to his house, from whence we returned, truly pleased with many of his pictures; more with so curious a character; and most of all that we saw through his artifice, and did not contribute to gratify his covetousness at our expense.

Another adventure of this kind we had at Antwerp. One of these trafficking connoisseurs shewed us a picture as an original of Rubens, and asked a prodigious great price for it. Our guide, who, no doubt, was in league with him, avouched it; but going immediately from thence to the house of a rich and whimsical canon, we saw the real original of the very same picture, the same guide conducting us. This canon also was a much greater curiosity himself than any thing he had to

shew. He had no real knowledge of any thing he had got, but had a valet who shewed them; and we were told, that sometimes when such questions were asked, as he could not answer himself, he would send for his maid. Indeed, his valet made so very free, both with his master and us, as made any thing of this kind very credible. This canon was very eager to hear every thing about him admired, but affected to make a great secret of every thing, and, in the bluntest and rudest manner, said *no* to almost every question your papa asked him about the management of his flowers, &c.; and though we particularly admired some fine peaches that he had got, he would not understand the hint so far as to desire our acceptance of one; and had we directly asked him for one, as your papa, for curiosity, had once thought of doing, I doubt not he would have again said *no*; which was a monosyllable that seemed to be very familiar to him. Two such characters as those of these canons can hardly be found except in such a seclusion from the world, and such an independence on others, as is peculiar to the Romish clergy.

From Alost to Brussels we saw many hops, and, I think, finer than any we had seen as we travelled through Kent. The beer of this country is by no means so good as in England.

The country we are now in is in many respects different from that of Flanders, but my paper admonishes me to conclude, and write a continuation at another opportunity.

I am, with compliments to Mr. Petty and Mr. Jervis, my dear Lord, your affectionate, humble servant.

P. S. Your papa is very well, and sends his love to your brother.

TO THE HONOURABLE MR. PETTY.*

DEAR MR. PETTY,

Paris, Oct. 6, 1774.

I WAS very sorry to hear of your misfortune, but hope that by this time you feel no disagreeable remains of it. I hope the inclosed journal will contribute to amuse you, and to convince you that I am, with great respect, my dear friend, your affectionate, humble servant.

* See *supra*, p. 237, *infra*, p. 254, *ad fin.*

We took our leave of Flanders on Friday, the 2nd of September, and crossing an arm of the sea at Mardyke, arrived at Rotterdam after it was dark; the lights in the town having a very agreeable effect across the water, over which we passed to come to it.

Holland seems to be surrounded either by the *sea*, or an absolute *desert*. Such, however, is the boundary, that we passed on the side of Flanders, and also on the side of Germany, and, on both these sides, are as unpassable as *sand* can make them. We had on this account most tiresome travelling, both into this country and out of it.

We spent the morning of Saturday the 3rd, in walking about Rotterdam, and seeing what was most worth seeing in it; and after dinner we went in the Trackschuyt by Delft, (where we stopped to see a magnificent tomb of the Prince of Orange,) to Leyden. The next morning we saw the physic garden in this place; then went by Woder to Haarlem, where we heard the famous organ, during the time of divine service, and went in two small carriages by land to Alkmaar, where we arrived just at dark. In this journey we skirted that part of Holland which is occupied by sand-hills, along the coast of the German Ocean. This tract of hilly ground seems to be of no use but to keep off the sea. In one place we saw there had been an attempt to sow a little barley in it, but the produce had not been worth reaping.

On Monday we set out in an awkward kind of carriage that held four persons, and dining at Purmeren, and stopping to see the village of Brook, we got to Amsterdam before night. We had intended to have seen the famous dykes that keep off the sea, and also Saardam, where most of the Dutch ships are built; but we were disappointed by our guides, who after having pocketed the money for that tour, took us another and a shorter way; and had our lives depended upon it, instead of the gratifying of our curiosity, I almost think those Dutchmen would have done just the same thing, and with the same coolness and self-applause. But, for the honour of human nature, I am willing to think we should not have been served so in any other country.

Though it is probable that the commerce and power of this

country is upon the decline, the harbour of Amsterdam is really a most astonishing sight. Such a number of ships is, I believe, no where else to be found in one place. The Town House also quite astonished me, both for the expense and magnificence of that part of it which is always open to every body, (being all cased with marble, disposed in excellent taste and exquisite workmanship,) and for the noble suite and furniture of the rooms adapted to all kinds of public business.

We were also much pleased with the rope-house and stow-house of the East India Company; but, excepting these, and a few good pictures, which we saw at Mr. Hope's, with whom we dined on Wednesday, we saw nothing worth particular notice in this place, which, upon the whole, is a very disagreeable one. We therefore left it on Thursday, which was sooner than we had intended, and came by water to Utrecht in the dark. There we joined the cook, who had been sent thither from Rotterdam with the coach.

In this passage we were much amused with the view of the Dutch country houses, with which this canal, (as also that which led from Delft to Leyden,) was lined. Some of them were old-fashioned, dark, and gloomy retreats, suitable enough, in my opinion, for those who had amassed a fortune in such a manner as is generally ascribed to this industrious, but selfish people. But in others there was real elegance and good taste, with a general uniformity, (especially in long straight vistas of trees, some covered and some open, and all most exactly cut and trimmed,) amidst a very great and whimsical variety. Some of them must have been exceedingly expensive, and equal to those of very rich country gentlemen in England.

On Friday we left Utrecht, intending to have reached Nimeguen before night; but we found the roads so intolerably heavy, that we were obliged to lodge at a small place called Grip; so we dined at Nimeguen the next day, and got to Cleef, in the King of Prussia's dominions, that night; taking leave, to our great satisfaction, of the country and people of Holland.

Altogether, however, it must be allowed that Holland is a great curiosity, and well worth the transient visit of a states-

man, or a philosopher, though it is certainly the last in which a man of a liberal turn of mind would choose to live.

The people here are so much occupied with commerce, that agriculture is no object of attention with them. We hardly saw a single field of corn in Holland, all the ground being employed in pasture. But though the cattle do not look ill, the horses are not capable of much service, and the flesh of their oxen and sheep is of a loose texture, and without flavour. This is owing, I suppose to the marshiness of their meadows, and the very bad water they are obliged to drink. Indeed, the whole country of Holland does not afford any water that a man can well drink. This circumstance, at least, furnishes them with an excuse for drinking wine and spirituous liquors in great quantities, and also for smoking tobacco, with which they almost poison every body that comes near them. Indeed, I can hardly express how very low, beastly, and sordid, the manners of the common people in this country are. It is a thing very different from the roughness and brutality of some of the low-bred people of England. In Germany or France, as far as I can observe, neither of those characters, which are the disgrace of human nature, exists.

Upon the whole, we were much disgusted with the people of Holland, and their manners; and were glad to get into the more open air, and more natural and agreeable manners of Germany.

The Journal continued.

On leaving Holland we felt ourselves elevated, as if we were emerging from a low and heavy atmosphere into a superior region, where we fancied that we breathed more freely than before; and yet the entrance into Germany, after passing Nimeguen, was not very promising, being nothing but heath or wood. The woods, however, began to be very pleasant, especially when the inequality of the ground gave us tolerable prospects.

On the evening of Saturday, 10th of September, we arrived at Cleef, and lodged in the park, near the medicinal springs. This is a delightful spot, and from a hill that overhangs the

inn we had a most extensive prospect into Germany. At this place we were much entertained with two young Dutchmen, but who, we were informed, were notorious sharpers. They seemed to have some design upon us, but on hearing Lord Shelburne's name, they were visibly embarrassed, and desisted from making any attempt upon us.

The next morning we went through Cleef, and in this country we met a procession of several hundred people walking to the town. We just stopped at Santon to see a curious old church, full of images, and dining at Hoogstraten, we got by dark to Dusseldorff, crossing the Rhine in a *pont volant* just at the town. The roads were very wet and bad.

In the morning we went to see the pictures at the Elector Palatine's palace. Some of them were exquisite, especially a Madona, by Guido. On the road we saw an elegant palace belonging to the elector; and dining at a little inn, on the provisions we carried with us, we arrived at Cologne before it was dark, passing the Rhine just at the city.

In the morning we went too see several churches, but found nothing very remarkable in any of them, besides a picture of the crucifixion of St. Peter, by Rubens. The town is old, ruinous, and disagreeable.

Before dinner we got to Bonn, where we saw the electoral palace, and dined with Mr. Cressner, the English Ambassador, the most political character I ever met with, but a very agreeable man. Beyond Cologne I, for the first time, saw vineyards; but from that place to Paris we never lost sight of them long.

On Wednesday we set out early, and got to Coblentz before three o'clock. The weather was exceedingly wet and unpleasant; otherwise we should have had most delightful travelling.

With this inconvenience it was still singularly fine, and afforded views that were exceedingly striking. We had the Rhine to the left, with hills and rocks covered with vines or woods close to it, the vines intermixed with kidney beans and pumpkins. Sometimes the road was cut in a rock almost perpendicular, the river being below us, and houses above us, with chapels neatly cut in the rock.

Upon our arrival at Coblentz, we waited upon Baron Breid-

bank, to settle the ceremonial of our visit to the elector, and spent the evening at the inn.

Thursday, we crossed the river to see the citadel, from which, being situated on a high and craggy rock, at the foot of which, and close to the river, is the palace, we had a most glorious prospect indeed, seeing the course of the Rhine, with all its windings, to an immense distance, especially up the river; the junction of the Moselle with it, and a fine level country beyond it, in which was a palace of the elector. Being introduced at court, we dined with the elector, a pleasant looking young man, but said to be a great bigot. The Bishop of Hontheim, a very intelligent man, and one of the company, conducted us to a Carthusian monastery, pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill near the city.

Friday, having crossed the Rhine, our road lay through a very hilly country, and exceedingly romantic. Almost half the day we travelled along the side of a river, which washed the foot of a steep ridge of hills covered with wood, and the side on which we travelled was a rising ground covered with vines. The remainder of the day we travelled through forests and open fields, and arrived at Schwallback just at dark. In the afternoon of this day, Lord Shelburne and I, having walked before the carriage, lost ourselves, which threw me, who was the occasion of it, into great consternation. We imagined the carriage had passed us when it had not.

Saturday, before we set out, we visited the famous spring of Seltzer-water, near this place. The morning was foggy, but it presently cleared up; and when we had reached the top of the hill, we had a most glorious prospect as we travelled along the ridge of it, having the Rhine under us, and an immense tract of country beyond it in view, though frequently interrupted by the trees of the forest through which we passed. We went a little out of our way to see a famous salt and hot spring, but got to Mayence before dinner. This is an agreeable town, and has the air of much politeness. But we made no stay in it, except to see a few churches, and especially a Carthusian monastery, a little way on our road, out of the town,

the cloister of which was finely painted, and arrived at Worms just as it began to be dark.

Sunday, we saw the cathedral, which had been ruined by the French, the Lutheran church, and the town hall, where Luther was examined, now a small garden, and got to Mannheim, crossing the Rhine before dinner. Lord Shelburne went to court, escorted by Mr. Dun, while I spent the day at the inn, and hearing a sermon in High Dutch at the Jesuits' church.

Monday, we visited the palace, which is very large and magnificent. We also went to see a collection of models of antique statues, a porcelain warehouse, &c., and reached Landau after the gates were shut, in consequence of Lord Shelburne and I having lost ourselves, and rambled many miles, the carriage having passed us.

Tuesday, we set out early in the morning, and travelling through the rich country of Alsace, got to Strasburgh before night, and time enough to go to the play that evening.

Wednesday, we called upon Professor Spielman, then went to see the bishop's palace and the cathedral, going up the spire, which is said to be the highest in the world, but did not go quite to the top. After dinner we saw the town library, the instruments belonging to the university, and an ingenious electrician called Krafts.

The cultivation of all the tract of country through which we travelled along the Rhine is excellent, especially about Mannheim, and in Alsace it is most excellent, resembling a rich garden. This look is much favoured by the variety of crops, and the divisions of fields, being often distinguished by rows of vines. All our varieties of corn, turkey wheat, canary seed, hemp, pumpkins, kidney beans, vines, turnips, potatoes, tobacco, and many other things, all intermixed in long and narrow fields, makes a new and curious spectacle to an Englishman. The roads, and also many of the fields, are planted with fruit trees, especially the walnut trees, the fruit of which is used for making oil.

The soil of this country, and especially of Alsace, is so light

that they generally plough with one horse, or cow, which they always yoke by the horns, which was the custom every where in our travels, except in Lorraine, where we saw some oxen yoked as with us. In Lorraine we frequently saw them ploughing with eight horses, and women either holding the plough or driving it. The wheat of Alsace is celebrated. At Strasburgh we had bread of the most exquisitely fine flavour I ever tasted; and at Nancy we were told that they cannot make such in France.

Thursday the 22nd, I rambled into several Lutheran churches, where the ministers were catechising the children and young persons, and among others a class of young women about twenty years of age. After breakfast we left Strasburgh, and dining at Severne, where we saw a magnificent palace of the Archbishop of Strasburgh, we got to Sarreburg before night. From the hills which divide Lorraine from Alsace, we had a noble prospect of all the country to and beyond the Rhine.

Friday, we dined at Luneville, where we saw a curious manufacture of *terre cuite*, and the palace of King Stanislaus, and then reached Nancy before night.

A good deal of the first part of Lorraine is planted with pear-trees, scattered through the fields. The fruit they dry and preserve.

Saturday, went to see Mr. Grenville, about a mile out of town, in a delightful country. We spent the rest of the day in seeing the churches, the square, and the governor's house of this excellent city. In the evening Mr. Grenville brought in the English newspapers.

Sunday, we dined at Metz, after passing a delightful road, with vines on both sides, the valleys well watered and full of cattle. These were the only pastures we saw in all our tour, except in Holland.

Monday, we were detained for want of post horses till after twelve, and spent our time in seeing the churches, the promenade, the arsenal, and a machine for sawing timber. We lodged at Verdun.

Tuesday, we set out early and got to Chalons, where we

walked about the town, saw the cathedral, the new town-house, and the promenade.

Wednesday, dined at Rheims, when we saw the cathedral, the treasure belonging to it, and the ancient Roman gate. We lodged at Chalons; the soil poor, but well cultivated.

Thursday, we set out pretty early, and stopping to see a seat of the Duke of Orleans, at Villers Cotevet, a large, but slovenly place, we got to Paris.

In this great capital I cannot say that I was much struck with any thing except the spaciousness and magnificence of the public buildings; and to balance this, I was exceedingly offended with the narrowness, dirt, and stench, of almost all the streets.

Here I spent a month; but though I was far from having any reason to complain of the reception I met with, and saw many truly polite and agreeable people, I cannot say that I saw any person that appeared to me to be more polite than many that I know in England, especially in the middle ranks of life, where there is, perhaps, more real politeness, as well as more virtue, than in the highest rank of society.*

In general, as far as I can judge, the French are too much taken up with themselves to admit of that minute and benevolent attention to others which is essential to politeness. This appears in nothing more than their continually interrupting one another in discourse, which they do without the least apology; so that one half of the persons in company are heard talking at the same time.

The French are likewise exceedingly deficient in cleanliness. I also happened to be present at such a violent scene of altercation in a private party, as I think would not have been suffered in England; and yet the behaviour of the company shewed that they were not much shocked at it. As to mere gracefulness of motion and address, as far as I pretend to judge, the English are by no means behind the French with respect to it.

In works of taste in general, and especially in the more

* See *supra*, p. 205.

ingenious mechanic arts, the French appear to me to be far behind the English, and in nothing could I imagine them superior to the English, or to have any advantage of us with respect to the commodious enjoyment of life, except in the arrangement of the parts of a house, which, however, is of late date with them, and which we consult taste in externals too much to have attended to.

Notwithstanding the French know more of other countries than they used to do, (for before the last war they thought all foreign nations unworthy of their notice,) they still have that conceit of themselves, and that contempt of other people, which are the truest marks of barbarism.

The French being debarred from the discussion of politics, by an arbitrary and consequently a jealous government, give very much into a taste for theatrical entertainments; and they seem to have them in greater perfection than with us. But though, for the same reason, many of them apply to literary and philosophical pursuits, they have not attained a decided superiority over other nations in these respects. They shew, however, a spirit and a liberality in these noble studies at which the English ought to blush.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Paris, Oct. 21, 1774.

IN my absence from my native country, I regret most that I do not hear from you. For I have only had one letter from you since I saw you; and I depended much upon receiving intelligence of various kinds from you.† It is now too late to

* "Featherstone Buildings, Holborn."

† Mr. Lindsey to "Mr. Jebb, at Cambridge, Oct. 29," says, "I had a letter from Paris yesterday from Dr. Priestley, who is full of concern on the public account." Then quoting the last paragraph of the letter, Mr. Lindsey adds, "Such is the extreme which their wafer-god and Trinity have thrown them into." *Orig. MS.*

There had been an earlier letter from the continent, which has not come into my possession. Mr. Lindsey, "Oct. 6," thus writes to Mr. Turner:

"I think I had not heard from Dr. Priestley when I last wrote; but I received a letter from him lately from Amsterdam, with a pleasing account of

direct any more to me at this place, as we shall leave it, I believe, in a week ; so that I shall hope to call at your door about the first of November.*

his journey, and the great satisfaction and amusement he enjoyed and expected in his tour, which was heightened by an increasing esteem for his patron, whom, the more he conversed with, he still more approved.

“ I am afraid the tour will be abridged, which I shall be very sorry for, on the doctor’s account, because every way likely to be beneficial to him ; for, I apprehend, Lord Shelburne must come home, post-haste, to look after his borough, upon this sudden dissolution of Parliament, though, even hasten as he will, he may be too late.”

Passing to other subjects he says, “ Mr. Johnson tells me that Dr. Priestley’s answer to the Northern philosophers sells well, but that people complain of the uncourteousness of some parts. Some few I could have wished altered ; but as then we might have been deprived of the whole, I am pleased and rejoiced so useful a work sees the light.

“ I yesterday corrected a proof sheet of the second Dissertation of three that are printing, to be prefixed to Dr. Hartley’s Theory of the Mind, stripped of the anatomical and mathematical part, which has prevented many looking into that valuable writer’s work. The Dissertations are masterly, and will recommend the work to which they are prefixed.” *Orig. MS.*

Archdeacon Blackburne to Mr. Lindsey, “ Richmond, Oct. 13, 1775,” says, “ I have just had a glimpse of a page or two of Dr. P.’s operations on David Hartley, whom he seems not to understand as I do.” *Orig. MS.*

Again referring to the *Examination*, “ Nov. 17,” Mr. Lindsey says, “ I have had a letter or two from Dr. Priestley since he went into the country. He intends soon to write to you. I find that all (all, at least, I know) like much his book against the Scotch philosophers, though they disapprove the manner of it in some parts. I own, I think they deserved some chastisement for their confidence and usage of their betters.

“ Mr. Lee told me the other day, that Mr. Macdonald, a young counsellor of Lincoln’s Inn, [perhaps the late Chief Baron,] just come from Edinburgh, had been with Dr. Robertson and Hume at the time they had read our friend’s book, and they both declared that the manner of the work was proper, as the argument was unanswerable. I own, had I seen it in MS. I should have wished to have softened a few things ; but I think there is no room for any great censure.

“ I was with Dr. Franklin when I read him that part of your letter relating to Mr. W. Shore. Dr. Priestley was forced to leave town, or would have gone with me. The doctor put down his name in his memorandum book, and said he should be glad to do any thing in his power to oblige a gentleman of such respectable connexions.” *Orig. MS.*

* Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, “ Nov. 3. Dr. Priestley is well and in England. He came to London yesterday evening, and immediately was so good as to call on us, and pass a long evening. I leave the doctor to give you a long list of a thousand things his curious mind has picked up. One

I was made very unhappy by a report in the papers, of your having broke your leg, till I was relieved by another, which said there was no foundation for the report. I was exceedingly distressed to be so far from you in such a situation; but I hope God will preserve your health and strength for the greatest purposes.

We receive the English papers here very irregularly, so that we have sometimes been a fortnight behind hand, which, in the present very critical state of American affairs, is the source of great anxiety to me. I would give a good deal to know what you know at this moment. Perhaps you know the issue of the congress,* and of the troubles which seemed to be beginning to break out at Boston.†

People here triumph in our dissensions, and think the breach with the colonies is irreparable; but the system of the present ministers is certainly pacific, though that of Spain may be otherwise.

I have here had opportunity of seeing many of the men who have the chief lead in the direction of affairs, which gives me some pleasure, as I shall have a better idea of them when I read of them in the papers. They are a set of philosophical men, whose object is freedom of commerce, and universal peace. But there is another set out of the ministry, whose object is the very reverse. At present, however, it is not thought that they have any chance of getting the upper hand; and there are every where such luxury and dissipation, as must make a state of war very irksome, even to the officers. In other respects, if the present ministry continues in power for a few years, this country will be in excellent order for commencing a war; for they are bent upon economy, and improving the riches and strength of the nation.

I am quite tired of the idleness in which I spend my time

thing I will venture to say, that he is much improved by those views of mankind at large, in many respects." *Orig. MS.*

* Assembled at Philadelphia, Sept. 4. *Amer. Ann.* II. 260, 261.

† See *ibid.* pp. 261—263. Yet in the midst of "the troubles," civilization was progressing; for this year, 1774, "lamps were, for the first time, lighted in the streets of Boston." *Ibid.* p. 265.

here, and long exceedingly to be about my experiments, or some composition. Upon my journey I have read and studied the Gospels very much, and should like exceedingly to print the Greek text, in the order of a harmony, with my dissertations from the Repository prefixed.* It would certainly add much to the satisfaction of reading the Life of Christ, to have the whole narrative in one continued story, and the variations in separate columns. I will, at least, cut to pieces, and put together, one copy for my own use.† In reading over the gospel of John, I think I perceive that one of his principal objects was to shew what opportunities the Jews had for knowing the divine mission of Christ, and consequently how inexcusable they were in their rejection of him; and the supposition of this gospel being written after the destruction of Jerusalem, suggests a reason for his having such an object in view.

The more attention I give to the study of the Scriptures, the more attached I am to it; and I hope the time will come when I shall apply myself to it chiefly. At present I read chiefly with a practical view; and the attentive consideration of the facts in the gospel history has certainly the strongest tendency to impress the heart and influence the life in the most favourable manner. The more I read the history of the death of Christ, in particular, the more reasons I think I see why he was to suffer; at least I see the old ones in a stronger light, and feel more of their force. Other studies, and other pursuits, that to many others are very proper and useful, appear to me to be altogether insignificant compared to these.

I am here in the midst of unbelievers, and even Atheists. I had a long conversation with one, an ingenious man, and good writer, who maintained seriously that man might arise, without any Maker, from the earth. They may despise me; I am sure I despise and pity them.‡

* See *supra*, p. 204.

† See his "mechanical methods" to effect this purpose, W. XX. 16, 17.

I add to the note, *supra*, p. 242, the following passage from Mr. Turner to Mr. Lindsey, "March 11, 1778. I am sure Dr. Priestley has had his full share in the general concern for the death of Master Petty." *Orig. MS.*

‡ *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM.*

I WAS very much pleased with almost every place I saw, except Holland, which I could not endure; and we visited almost every corner of it.† The country, however, is a great curiosity, and well worth seeing for once; but I thought it the last place where I should choose to live.

I was greatly surprised to find the cultivation of Flanders superior to that of England, and that of Alsace superior even to Flanders. Even in what we saw of France, from Strasburg to Paris, we saw no waste lands, like our commons; and what struck me very much, (except in Holland, where they do not plough at all, and a little of Lorraine,) I saw no grass lands, or meadows.

I was more shocked at the superstition of the Catholics than I expected to have been; but found some of their priests very intelligent and candid, and some of them as truly Christian characters, in all respects, as any sort can boast; but these, I believe, are few. The generality, I have reason to think, from the inquiries I have made, are either very stupid, or infidels. Their philosophers are almost universally the latter.

I had a conversation of two hours with a most ingenious man, and a considerable writer, who maintained that man might have sprung out of the earth by spontaneous generation;‡ and I was told by another, that I was the first believer in Christianity that he had met with of whose understanding he had any opinion.§ I always told them very freely that I could easily account for their infidelity by the very corrupted state of their established religion, farther than which they plainly had not looked, and that they could not pretend to have studied the subject as myself and other believers in England had done. However, I left them all as I had found them; and whether they think better or worse of me on that account, I am very indifferent. They could not pos-

* See *supra*, p. 11.

† See *supra*, p. 254.

‡ See *supra*, p. 245.

§ See W. XIX. 310, *note*.

sibly, however, have shewn more respect to any body, than they did to me, especially on account of my *Observations on Air*, which have engaged the attention of almost all the philosophers on the continent.

I saw a good deal of several of the present leading statesmen of France. They are, in general, philosophical people, very honest and economical, friends of commerce and of peace. The king is, on all hands, agreed to have nothing at all in him, and while he is in good hands, all will do well.* But there are many persons disaffected, intriguing, lovers of war, and violent enemies of England. If these get into power, which is far from being impossible, we shall certainly have a war, and the economy of the present ministers will have brought the nation into excellent order for it.

The present French ministry are great friends of toleration. A person who is very much in their confidence told me, he hoped that in ten years all religions would have a full toleration in France; but that, I am convinced, will be pushing things too fast for that country. At present they are miserably hampered by the *censeurs* of the press. The person who has translated my Treatise on Air could not obtain leave to insert that paragraph in the preface in which I speak of the consequence of the spread of knowledge with respect to religion.† A person is translating my Essay on Government; but he must print it in Holland, and get it into France clandestinely.

Upon the whole, I thought the country by no means a desirable one to live in, or to stay much in, and I wonder much

* Mr. Lindsey, after having "spent part of a day at Lord Shelburne's, May 10, 1775," with "Lord Stanhope, his son, Lord Mahon, Mr. Lee, Drs. Price, Kippis, Priestley," thus writes of "the French" to Mr. Jebb at Cambridge:

"Mons. Turgot has given great offence by his edict to transport corn from one province to another, and by other regulations, tending to good, but contrary to some men's present interests. He is called *un homme de projets*, his brother ministers *trop philosophes*, the nobility against them, because they are not men of the first rank, the people incensed by the present general scarcity of grain, the king a poor creature." *Orig. MS. On Turgot*, See W. XX. 500; XXIV. 367.

† See W. XXV. 375.

at the taste of my countrymen, who spend so much of their time, and of their money, there.*

FROM REV. A. M. TOPLADY.†

REV. SIR,

Broad-Hembury, Dec. 20, 1774.

CONDESCEND to accept the thanks of a person who has not the honour of being acquainted with you, for the pleasure and

* Communicated by Rev. W. Graham to Rev. W. Turner, from whose letter to Rev. N. Cappe, dated "Wakefield, May 22, 1775," it has been here copied *verbatim*. Mr. Turner adds,

"Mr. Lee told me that the French translation of the Doctor's Observations on Air is ill done, insomuch that the philosophers at Paris could not understand many things, or verify many of the experiments. Therefore, the Doctor was desired to exhibit several of them.

"For this end a meeting was appointed at Monsieur Turgot's, who has an excellent apparatus. Many eminent persons attended; among others, three archbishops. This distinguished assembly was much surprised, satisfied and delighted with many things the Doctor exhibited, particularly with the wonderful appearance on the mixture of nitrous with common air.

"At their first arrival, Lord Shelburne carried the Doctor to public spectacles, and the assemblies and routs of the great; but these things were very insipid and irksome to him. He, therefore, desired to be excused. Thenceforward, he spent his evenings with parties of literary and philosophical people, who flocked to his Lordship's hotel, or engaged him elsewhere.

"In short, our ingenious and worthy friend was highly caressed and honoured there, and at the same time reflected no little honour on his patron, as being in his suite. Monsieur Lue, the German philosopher, who is now in England, very intimate with the Doctor, and sees all his experiments, is making a new translation of the Observations, &c., under the Doctor's inspection." *Orig. MS.* On *De Luc*, see W. III. v, 211—215.

Mr. Turner has omitted the date of the letter to Mr. Graham; but it was, probably, written soon after Dr. Priestley's return to England.

† Augustus Montague Toplady, whose death, in 1778, at the age of 37, has been partly attributed to excessive mental application, was a learned and most zealous Calvinist, and too often "a fierce polemic," assailing (though not always unassailed) Wesley, Sellon, and other Arminian clergy, with all the rancour and scurrility of South. (See M. R. V. 638, 639.)

These blemishes are abundant in a work of much theological research, his "Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, 1774." He also published "The Scheme of Christian Philosophical Necessity Asserted, 1775," in which he quotes this letter, as written to "a very eminent anti-calvinian Philosopher." (See W. III. 456, 537, *notes*.)

Mr. Toplady warmly opposed the American War, and was in other respects a politician, as uncourtly and democratic as could have been ex-

improvement recently received from a perusal of your spirited (and for the most part just) animadversions on the three Northern Doctors. Allow me also to thank, in an especial manner, the good providence of God, which has raised up no less a man than yourself to contend so ably for the great doctrine of necessity; a doctrine, in my idea, not only essential to sound and rational philosophy, but, abstracted from which, I could not, for my own part, consider Christianity itself as a defensible system.

Greatly as I admire the main of your performance, I should probably not have taken the liberty to trouble you with my acknowledgments, but for the following circumstance:

In your successful assault and battery of the new Scotch for-

pected from a clergyman of the Establishment, to which he appears sincerely attached. Among his intimates and correspondents was Catharine Macaulay, whose History he eulogizes, and to whom he writes an account of the sudden death, in 1774, of their common acquaintance Thomas Hollis. (*Supra*, p. 94.) He also agreeably describes a visit, at Newington-Green, with Rev. John Ryland, to Mr. Burgh, (the intimate of Price,) whose "Political Disquisitions," Toplady admired, but from whom he was, *toto cælo*, separated on the question of necessity.

Among the letters is one "to Mr. H.," dated "May 23, 1774." The following passages may serve to discover how incorrectly the writer had understood Mr. Lindsey's opinions, and how vainly he had predicted his sudden decline "into obscurity." Omitting some rudely disparaging epithets, I cannot suppress a *humble* witticism; for Toplady and his companions to the chapel had pleasantly disputed whether the texture of the preacher's discourse were *lindsey-woolsey* or mere *lindsey*.

"Yesterday afternoon, being Whitsunday, curiosity led me to hear Mr. Theophilus Lindsey, who lately resigned the vicarage of Catterick. He is a palpable Arian in his ideas of Christ's person, and appears to be a thorough-paced Socinian as far as concerns the doctrine of atonement.

"Mr. Lindsey's Arian meeting is held in Essex Street, up one pair of stairs, in the house called Essex House. It is a long narrow room, (which, if filled, would hold about 200 people,) where auctions (particularly for books) used to be held. He seems to be a man of much personal modesty and diffidence, and, I verily believe, acts upon principle; but he has no popular talents. He must unavoidably soon sink into obscurity, when the novelty of his secession begins to subside, and when his Arian friends are weary of puffing him off in the newspapers. He is no more qualified to figure at the head of a party than I am to take the command of the navy." See "The Works of the Rev. A. M. Toplady, A. B., late Vicar of Broad-Hembury, Devon," (1828,) VI. 230, 231.

tification, you have occasionally fired some random shot on a very numerous set of men, who, so far as concerns the article of necessity, are your actual friends and your natural allies. Permit me, therefore, Sir, to offer you in this private manner a few plain, but not intentionally disrespectful, strictures on some rash and exceptionable passages; which serve as foils to render your penetration and candour on some other occasions the more conspicuous.

I shall confine myself to your Introduction.*

1. Are you certain that “the common Arminian doctrine of free-will” is founded on scripture, and pre-supposed by “the philosophical doctrine of necessity”? Is it not very possible, and often actually matter of fact, that men have not “the power of doing what they please or will” to do? The triumvirate of doctors, (for instance,) are, I doubt not, very willing to beat you off from their intrenchments, and to give you a total defeat; but I am much mistaken if they have “the power of doing” it.

2. Why are “the notions of Calvin” represented as “gloomy”?† Is it gloomy to believe that the far greater part of the human race are made for endless happiness? There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt entertained concerning the salvation of every young person. If (as some who have versed themselves in this kind of speculations affirm) about one half of mankind die in infancy; and if, as indubitable observation proves, a very considerable number of the remaining half die in early childhood; and if, as there is the strongest reason to think, many millions of those who live to maturer years, in every successive generation, have their names in the book of life, then what a very small portion, comparatively, of the human species falls under the decree of preterition and non-redemption! This view of things, I am persuaded, will, to an eye so philosophic as yours, at least open a very cheerful vista through the gloom, if not entirely turn the imaginary darkness into sunshine; for, with respect to the few reprobate, we may, and we ought, to resign the disposal of them implicitly to the will of

* The preface. W. III 4—14.

† See *infra*.

that only King who can do no wrong, instead of summoning the Almighty to take his trial at the tribunal of our own speculations, and of setting up ourselves as the judges of Deity.

3. I must confess I see nothing wonderful, nor to be gazed at, as a "strange phenomenon," in the coincidence of "philosophical necessity" with the Calvinistic theology and metaphysics. I should rather wonder if they did not coincide; since (according to the ideas formed by me, who live in a Christian country, and believe the Christian revelation) they mutually suppose and support each other: for what is Calvinism, but a scriptural expansion of the philosophic principle of necessity; or, if you please, a ramification of that principle into its religious parts? It is possible, indeed, for a person to be a gross Necessitarian, or a Necessitarian at large, without being fully a Calvinist (witness many of the ancient, and some modern, philosophers); but it seems impossible to me that any person can be fully a Calvinist without being a Necessitarian.

Moreover, every Christian Necessitarian is, so far, a Calvinist. Have a care, therefore, Dr. Priestley, lest, having set your foot in the Lemaine Lake, you plunge in, *quantus quantus*; a catastrophe which, for my own part, and for your own sake, I sincerely wish may come to pass, and of which I do not wholly despair.

4. There is, I apprehend, no shadow of reason for supposing, that had the great and good Mr. Edwards "lived a little longer," he must "have been sensible that his philosophy was much more nearly allied to Socinianism than to Calvinism." That deep and masterly reasoner would rather have rejoiced at seeing so important a branch of the Calvinistic philosophy (viz. the doctrine of necessity) so warmly adopted by a Socinian divine.

Seriously, I think you have admitted a Trojan horse into your gates, whose concealed force will probably, at the long run, display the banner of John Calvin on your walls, and master your capital, though at present garrisoned by the confederate forces of Pelagius, Sozzo, and Van Harmin.

5. Nor was it any "piece of artifice in Mr. Edwards to represent the doctrine of philosophical necessity as being the same thing with Calvinism, and the doctrine of philosophical liberty as the same thing with Arminianism." This suggestion, Sir, (which, by the way, is more than a little ungenerous, when we consider how upright and valuable a man Mr. Edwards, by all accounts, proved himself in every part of his conduct,) seems to have been started merely as a salvo for yourself. You are, on the article of necessity, the reverse of an Arminian; and you are terribly afraid of being dubbed a Calvinist. I must own you are in some little danger. But cheer up; your case is not yet desperate. Poor Jansenius was in a situation somewhat similar to yours. He indeed swam farther into the Geneva lake than you have ventured to do; and, to elude the name of heretic, assured as many good people as would believe him, that he was all the while bathing in the Tiber.

So far as I can judge, Mr. Edwards gave the naked and genuine sentiments of his heart to the public. And I am likewise of opinion, that the fact stands, simply and literally, just as he represents it. Arminianism, when stripped of its sophistical trappings, contends for such an absolute and inviolable freedom, *εν αμφοτέρωτοι*, as is independent in its exercise on any thing but the will itself. Consequently the Arminian scheme is no less incompatible with the religion of reason than with the religion of the Bible; and directly contravenes the whole current, both of natural and of revealed truth.

6. It is, certainly, a very unguarded assertion, that "the modern question of liberty and necessity" is what the Calvinian divines "never understood, or, indeed, had so much as heard of." The contrary is evincible from their writings. The question, so far from being purely "modern," has exercised some of the ablest Protestant pens from the Reformation quite down to the present day. It has been agitated, with no little zeal, *pro et contra*, even among the Papists, long before, but more frequently since, the Protestant æra. And it was the subject of no small debate among some of the heathen philosophers themselves.

7. "Mr. Edwards," therefore, was not the first Calvinist who ever "hit upon the true philosophical doctrine of necessity." A vast number of the greatest Reformed divines, both foreign and English, touched the self-same key. And it is extremely evident that Mr. Edwards himself received much light from them into the subject, and even availed himself very frequently of phrases, distinctions, and arguments, which those grand luminaries had, with success, made use of before him.

8. "Zealous Calvinists," you tell us, "regard your writings with abhorrence." It would have been candid, Sir, to have expressed this with more restriction, and with less vehemence. Many very "zealous Calvinists" regard your writings, on some subjects, not only without "abhorrence," but with honour and admiration. Dark and "gloomy" as you have represented us, we still have sufficiency both of eye-sight and of day-light, to discern the lustre of your genius, and the improvements which your equally profound and refined researches have added to the stock of philosophic knowledge.

9. Nervous (and, as I think, irrefragable) as Mr. Edwards' treatise is, you still are much too sanguine in asserting that the "Calvinists boast" of it "as the strongest bulwark of their own gloomy faith." We never boasted of it under any such character. We have, in my apprehension, some hundreds of "bulwarks," no less strong than this American one, whose towers I concur with you in deservedly admiring. Exclusively of which numerous "bulwarks," we have a citadel (the Bible) against which no weapon can possibly prevail. I pass over your favourite epithet "gloomy," which you so repeatedly prefix to Calvinistic "faith." When you have attended as minutely to the philosophy of scripture vision as you have to that of animal optics, you will perceive the district of Calvin to be, not a Cimmerian region, but a very land of Goshen.

10. You think proper, Sir, to suppose, that "zealous Calvinists will be surprised to hear" (it is well we are not deaf and blind too) you "so full and earnest" in the "recommendation" of Mr. Edwards' "book." I much question whether their wonder will mount to surprise. There are so many

weaknesses, contradictions, and inconsistencies, in philosophers, as well as in ordinary men, that few people, who know much of the world and of human nature, will be greatly "surprised" at any thing.

11. You, however, are of a different opinion—perhaps, because "zealous Calvinists," like moles and bats, live in a thick and perpetual gloom, with hardly a single ray of truth, or of common sense, to gild their midnight darkness. People in so melancholy a situation are doubtlessly very apt to take fright. If your charity will not pour day-light on our gloomy abodes, it would, at least, be compassionate in you to mitigate the woe-ful surprise with which you think your treatise calculated to impress us.

No! You will no more deign to alleviate our surprise than to dissipate our gloom. It is rather cruel, though, first to shut us up in the dark, and then to scare us. It seems we "must" still "continue to wonder." Wherefore? Because "it would be to no purpose" for you "to explain" to the "zealous Calvinists why they ought not to wonder" at the matter. "What I should say on that subject," adds the high and mighty Doctor, "would not be intelligible to them." Inexpressibly candid and polite! The plain English of the compliment is this: Every zealous Calvinist is a fool, or a dunce at best. I will therefore waste no time on such incurable asses. All my philosophic apparatus itself would not afford them a gleam of knowledge; nor all my consummate skill in language and in reasoning make them comprehend the lowest of my sublime ideas; I therefore leave them to stumble on in their impenetrable gloom, and to knock their blockish heads against tables, doors, walls, and posts, amid the tremor of their surprise.

Our case is pitiable indeed. But why will not the illuminated and illuminating Doctor direct a few of his rays, by way of experiment, toward our dark and dreary habitations? Be honest, good Sir, and fairly tell us, that your reason for huddling the matter up, and for not descending to particulars, was not our stupidity, but your fear of the consequences that would result to yourself, had you gone to the bottom of the subject, and unfolded all that was in your heart. To screen yourself,

you affect to give us over, as incurable, before you have so much as tried what you can make of us. If you set about it, who can tell but, stupid as we are, some of us may recover our sight and sense, and be emancipated from our gloom and our surprise together? Electricity, under your auspices, may work miracles.

However lightly I may, occasionally, have expressed myself, I assure you, on the word of an honest man, that I have the honour to be, with seriousness and truth, Rev. Sir, your admirer and very humble servant.

P. S. On reviewing this letter, I deem myself obliged, in some measure, to apologize for that vein of freedom into which the supreme and insulting contempt you express of the Calvinists has unwarily betrayed me. Your last-quoted paragraph, Sir, appears to carry an implication of extreme prejudice, and of sovereign pride. Nothing can be more supercilious, more rude, or more unjust, than the letter and the spirit of that whole passage. I would willingly, if I were able, frame an excuse for you, by supposing that it escaped you, *volante calamo*; and that it is to be imputed, not so much to malice, to haughtiness, or even to your unacquaintedness with the people you traduce, as to the hurry and precipitation with which your treatise was apparently written.

Believe me to be, Sir, most respectfully yours.*

* *Works* VI. 252—259. Dr. Priestley does not appear to have admitted his correspondent's charge of erroneous representation, as he left the passages unaltered, in his 2nd edition (1775), and thus maintains the same opinions in the concluding section of his "Illustrations" (1777):

"The scheme of philosophical necessity has been shewn to imply a chain of *causes and effects*, established by infinite wisdom, and terminating in the greatest good of the whole universe: evils of all kinds, natural and moral, being admitted, as far as they contribute to that end, or may be in the nature of things inseparable from it. No Necessarian, however, supposes that any of the human race will suffer eternally, but that future punishments will answer the same purposes as temporal ones are found to do, all of which tend to good and are evidently admitted for that purpose; so that God, the author of all, is as much to be adored and loved for what we *suffer* as for what we *enjoy*; his *intention* being equally kind in both, since both are equally parts, and equally necessary parts, of the same plan."

Then, after describing the system of even "the consistent *sublapsarian* Calvinist," as all creeds and catechisms describe it, he adds:

TO REV. N. CAPPE.*

DEAR SIR,

London, Jan. 10, 1775.

YOUR short little letter contains so many queries, &c., that you must absolutely come to London to have satisfactory answers, especially to what relates to my little tour on the continent. It gives me great joy, however, to find you are so well recovered from an indisposition that gave all your friends the greatest concern and alarm.† Had it not been for this, I should certainly have done nothing in the metaphysical way without you, for there is none of my acquaintance that I could expect to enter into my views so much as yourself, and who is at the same time so capable of guiding and assisting me. The Examination and Dissertations‡ were not communicated to a single person. The edition of Hartley ought to have been printed when I was abroad, and since I have come home the same printer has been engaged with a second edition of the

“In comparing these two schemes, I can see no sort of resemblance, except that the future happiness or misery of all men is certainly fore-known and appointed by God. In all other respects they are most essentially different; and even where they agree in the *end*, the difference in the *manner* by which that end is accomplished is so very great, that the *influence* of the two systems on the minds of those that adopt and act upon them, is the reverse of one another.” W. III. 532—534.

The very unceremonious style of this letter, (from a stranger,) of which the ready writer appears to have been, occasionally, rather than prevailingly conscious, was not sufficient to deter Dr. Priestley from a personal intercourse with his learned and acute opponent. Thus, in 1790, shewing how he had been “brought acquainted with persons of all principles and characters,” he says,

“One day, I remember, I dined in company with an eminent Popish priest; the evening I spent with philosophers, determined *unbelievers*; the next morning I breakfasted, at his own request, with a most zealously orthodox clergyman, Mr. Toplady; and the rest of that day I spent with Dr. Jebb, Mr. Lindsey, and some others, men in all respects *after my own heart*.” W. XIX. 307.

* York.

† “For some months every object appeared double, which obliged him to wear spectacles, with one of the glasses darkened. He persevered, however, in his ministerial and other labours.” *Mem. of N. Cappe*, (1820,) p. 32.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 202, 233, 252 *note*.

Examination, which is now done, so that I hope Hartley will be out in about a month. I never heard of the German translation.* I have one of part of the work in French.† Dr. Beattie will soon be out with an answer; some say Oswald will reply; but all say that Dr. Reid will not.‡ Depend upon seeing all my future publications of this nature in MS. if you choose it, and if the perusal be not too fatiguing to you.

A new edition of my treatise on Air is in the press, and I have made so many additions to my Observations, that I propose to publish a Supplement to that work before I leave London. But the more I do, the more I see is to be done.

I have not done much with respect to the treatise on Education; however, I will send you soon, by the coach, some "Miscellaneous Observations" which I first wrote for the use of Lord Shelburne.§ But this will disappoint your expectations. I know nothing of the Berlin prize.

I sent Mr. Turner and Mr. Graham a short account of some things that I observed on the continent. The former will send you a copy of it, and it|| will save me the trouble of writing.

I am constructing a Harmony of the Evangelists, both in Greek and English, which I think to publish separately with the same dissertations (chiefly those in the Repository) prefixed to both.¶ I am pretty well satisfied that John began to preach in 28, and that Christ died in 29 of the vulgar æra. Have you studied this subject?

I am much obliged to Dr. Hunter** for his compliment, and shall be very glad to see the book. Give my respectful compliments to him. I would give a great deal for the benefit

* Probably by Pistorius. See W. III. 170, *note*.

† "Explication Physique des Sens, des Idées, et des Mouvements tant volontaires qu'involontaires, Traduite de l'Anglois de M. Hartley, M. A. par M. l'Abbé Jurain. A Reims, 1755." 2 Vols. 12mo. See W. XV. 423.

Among Mr. Cappe's papers, now for ever "locked up in an unintelligible short-hand," are "notes upon Dr. Hartley's Observations, which he had closely studied and estimated very highly, and of which it was his intention to have published a new edition." *Life of N. Cappe*, p. 95.

‡ See W. II. iv.; *Life of Beattie*, (1824,) pp. 204, 211—214, 219.

§ See *supra*, p. 201.

¶ See *supra*, p. 255.

|| See *supra*, p. 204.

** A physician at York. See *Life of N. Cappe*, p. 49.

of an interview with you now and then: but it is impossible to do much by letters. Respectful compliments to your son.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, March 25, 1775.

I AM at length, I thank God, got well home, and find all my family well. The girl was fully acquitted, and the young man will marry her. Judge Blackstone was exceedingly civil, and took several occasions of paying me compliments, so that the disagreeable business went off better than I could have expected. The grand jury did not find the bill, which, though it did not prevent a public trial on the inquest, made the favourable issue of it pretty certain.

I inclose a letter I have just received, and wish you would inform me whether the writer be not an author, and what he has written. Please to return it soon, as I have not answered it.

I have got a cheap method of making my new air in large quantities, but cannot pursue my experiments as I would wish, on account of my boils; otherwise I have many very promising things in view.

Do not fail to let me know how your own affairs go on, and especially what you do about the ground.†

My wife's compliments to you both.‡

TO REV. W. TURNER.

April 6, 1775.

AT present I am chiefly intent on my experiments, and I was never more successful than I have been of late. I now do not intend to make a supplement to my late treatise on Air, but to defer publication till the next winter, when, in all probability, I shall have materials for another volume.

* *Orig.* MS. Dr. Joseph Cappe, I apprehend, who died, 1791. See *Life of N. Cappe*, p. 86.

† For the erection of a chapel. See *supra*, p. 233.

‡ *Orig.* MS.

I have now discovered an air five or six times as good as common air. I got it first from *mercurius calcinatus, per se*, red lead, &c.; and now, from many substances, as quick-lime, (and others that contain little phlogiston,) and spirit of nitre, and by a train of experiments demonstrate that the basis of our atmosphere is spirit of nitre. Nothing I ever did has surprised me more, or is more satisfactory. In various other respects I have added to the new facts I had discovered before.

Dr. Franklin has left us;* but I do not know that he has any thing particular in view. He told me in general that he thought he did no good here, and might do some in America. He had no idea of the Americans' submitting to our measures, though he thought Lord Chatham's bill† would have been a good foundation for a final settlement.‡

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR FRIEND, *Philadelphia, May 16, 1775.*

YOU will have heard before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their expedition back again. They retreated twenty miles in six hours.§

The governor|| had called the Assembly, to propose Lord North's pacific plan;¶ but, before the time of their meeting,

* See *supra*, p. 211.

† "For settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." It was "rejected, (Feb. 1, 1775,) by 64 to 32, without being allowed to lie on the table." *Amer. Ann.* II. 268.

‡ Extract, in Mr. Turner's letter to Mr. Cappe, "May 22, 1775." See *supra*, p. 257, note *.

§ See *supra*, p. 210, note †. From Lexington "the British proceeded to Concord." After disabling "two 24-pounders," throwing "500 pounds of ball into the river and wells," and destroying "60 barrels of flour," they "retreated with precipitancy," harassed continually by the Americans, "and the next morning went into Boston," having "65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 prisoners." Of their opponents there were "50 killed, 34 wounded." *Amer. Ann.* II. 271—273.

|| General Gage, who returned to England, *re infectâ*, October, 1775.

¶ "The purport of it was, that Parliament would forbear to tax any colony which should engage to make provision for contributing its proportion

began cutting of throats. You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive-branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.

He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives.* The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger.

All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

I had a passage of six weeks, the weather constantly so moderate, that a London wherry might have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen by the Assembly a delegate to the Congress now sitting.†

In coming over I made a valuable philosophical discovery, which I shall communicate to you when I can get a little time. At present I am extremely hurried.

Yours most affectionately.‡

TO DR. CALDER.§

DEAR SIR,

Calne, July 7, 1775.

I HAVE read your articles for the Dictionary with much pleasure. My only objection to them is that they are too

to the common defence, and for the support of civil government, and the administration of justice in such colony. The proposition was founded on no one radical principle of reconciliation. The minister at length acknowledged that it was designed to divide America, while it should unite Great Britain." *Amer. Ann.* II. 268, 269.

* "Toward the end of May a considerable reinforcement arrived, and about the same time Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared to act with more decision." He first, however, offered the royal pardon to all "who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration but that of condign punishment." *Ibid.* pp. 275, 276.

† "The Assembly, in return, expressed their sovereign contempt of this imbecile fulmination, by choosing Mr. Hancock President." *Life of Franklin*, p. 209.

‡ "The second Continental Congress" had been opened "at Philadelphia, May 10." *Ibid.* p. 279.

§ See *supra*, p. 214; W. XXV. 393; *Life of Franklin*, p. 205.

§ See *supra*, p. 194, note †.

diffuse for the purpose of such a work. It is possible, however, that many readers may be pleased with a few of such articles, and therefore they may recommend the work. I am sensible, likewise, that it is exceedingly difficult to write just so much as the purpose of a dictionary requires, and give any satisfaction to your employers, who will like to see the marks of your reading and industry, which, upon my plan, would not much appear. There are some repetitions in the article of *air*, especially in the paper I gave you, and your quotation from Sir John Pringle.*

With this letter I send to the press my second volume, and I hope it will be printed soon. When that is done I will gladly give you a summary of it for your work, and you may easily find a place for it, or at least subjoin it to the whole work.

I depend upon your paying me a visit this summer. At present we are in a good deal of confusion, having the carpenters below stairs, while we live above. In about a month I hope we shall be in a more comfortable state.†

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR FRIEND,

Philadelphia, July 7, 1775.

THE Congress met‡ at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of General Gage, and his attack on the country people,§ that propositions of attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried|| another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies, which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

She has begun to burn our sea-port towns, secure, I suppose, that we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all; but if she wishes to recover

* See *supra*, pp. 193—197.

† *Orig. MS.* in Mr. Upcott's Collection; Nicholls's *Lit. Hist.* IV. 838.

‡ See *supra*, p. 269.

§ See *supra*, p. 268.

|| May 26, 1775. *Amer. Ann.* II. 279.

our commerce, are these the probable means? She must certainly be distracted; for no tradesman out of bedlam ever thought of increasing the number of his customers by knocking them on the head, or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houses.

If she wishes to have us subjects, and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign, she is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence.

You will have heard, before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct of Gage to the remaining people in Boston, in detaining their goods, after stipulating to let them go out with their effects; the defeat of a great body of his troops by the country people at Lexington;* some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops, and the action at Bunker's Hill,† in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory.‡ Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance, nor offered our commerce for their friendship.§ Perhaps we never may; yet it is natural to think of it if we are pressed.

We have now an army on the establishment, which still holds yours besieged.||

My time was never more fully employed. In the morning, at six, I am at the Committee of Safety, appointed by the Assembly to put the province in a state of defence, which Committee holds till nine, when I am at the Congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies

* See *supra*, p. 210, note †.

† June 17, 1775. *Amer. Ann.* II. 276—278.

‡ “Killed 226, wounded 828. Of the Americans, 139 killed, 314 wounded.” *Ibid.* p. 278, note.

§ Nor indeed could they, with any prospect of success, till the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. See *ibid.* II. 293.

|| For which purpose Washington had “arrived at Cambridge, July 2.” *Ibid.* p. 280.

proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain that men can be as diligent with us, from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones.

Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here. Gentlemen who used to entertain with two or three courses, pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain,* we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops. Our savings in the article of trade amount to near five millions sterling per annum.

I shall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthorp, but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself.

Believe me ever, with sincere esteem, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.†

TO DR. CALDER.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, July 17, 1775.

I THANK you for your attention to the passage from the *Encyclopédie*. I intended to have written to you about it, but forgot. I never saw the passage myself, and only heard of it from you. The meaning of my desiring Mr. Johnson to put it into your hands was, that you would point out to me any thing that you thought exceptionable, and it is not yet too late to do it.

* To which they had resorted in 1766, when Dr. Franklin's examination before the Commons thus concludes:

“Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans? A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain. Q. What is now their pride? A. To wear their old clothes over again till they can make new ones.” *Collection*, (1777,) p. 81. See W. XXII. 397, 398.

† *Pieces*, (1779,) p. 552, where the Editor adds, “I run much risque in the publication of the three following letters; but I think they contain such valuable facts, and shew so well the nature of Dr. Franklin's temper, that I ought to encounter some difficulty rather than suffer them to be lost.” See *supra*, p. 269, note †.

I have no conception how the late bill* would have been a legal security for Arians or Socinians.† I wish you would state to me the ground of that opinion, and send me a copy of the bill. I suppose they were printed. Inclose it in a cover, directed, Lord Shelburne, at Bowood, near Calne. I may, perhaps, make an appendix relating to it, retracting or asserting my present opinion, as I shall see occasion. I do not think that the friends of the late bill will have reason to be dissatisfied with me upon the whole; and I am far from apprehending that any thing I have written can do them the least disservice, though they should not change the ground of their application.

I am just got into my house at Calne, and, upon the whole, like the situation very well. Could you not make it convenient to spend a few weeks with me here this summer? We shall always have a bed for a friend; and you may depend upon a most hearty welcome. I think you want some such relief from your various pressures. I expect to receive my apparatus‡ the next week; and perhaps some of the experiments I am carrying on may contribute to amuse you. The stage-coach will bring you hither in about half a day, and carry you back again in the same time. I hope it will be another inducement to you if I add, that your company will be useful to me in several of my schemes of composition. Let me have as early a notice of your coming as you can give me, that I may take care to be at home, and have things ready for your reception. I beg I may hear from you soon.§

* Rejected by the Lords, 1773. See *supra*, p. 230, note *.

† As the Bill, 1772, would have been for all Christians, submitting to the magistrate's claim of interference. Instead of subscription to articles, was a declaration "that the Holy Scriptures contain a revelation of the mind and will of God," followed by a "testimonial of good moral and Christian character," from "three ministers," who "acknowledge" the party qualifying "as a Protestant Dissenting minister." See the "Bill" annexed to "the Case," (1772,) pp. 60—64.

‡ Probably from Lord Shelburne's residence in London, now Lansdown House, where he had apartments reserved for his scientific pursuits. (See *supra*, p. 201.) A venerable friend informs me that he has seen the late William Pitt among the spectators of Dr. Priestley's experiments.

§ Nicholls's *Lit. Hist.* IV. 839.

TO REV. N. CAPPE.*

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Aug. 28, 1775.

I AM glad to find that you approve of my Essays prefixed to the edition of Hartley.† I think I shall compose some other essays on metaphysical subjects, and publish them separately, but not very soon. If it will amuse you, I will very gladly put them into your hands as they are composed. One is nearly finished. I shall be glad to hear your opinion of them.

I have made many observations on human nature, with a view to the illustration of Hartley's theory. They relate very much to the conduct of the mind and happiness, and they are so necessarily intermixed with observations on education, that I almost think it will be best to publish them altogether as one work, and consequently not very soon. I have not yet transcribed any of them.‡ When I do, you shall see them, if you please.

I am satisfied that my argument for Peter not being one of the two disciples going to Emmaus was not well founded.§ I think to print the Greek Harmony this winter, and the English some time after.|| Mr. Turner has engaged to add to the English, illustrations of all the difficult passages for the use of common readers.¶ The dissertations will be common to both; but those who choose to have both, may have the latter without the dissertations. With these I have taken a good deal of pains, and I hope they will give you some pleasure. Among other things, I have a new interpretation of Daniel's prophecy of seventy weeks.**

The sparry acid is an acid contained in what the chymists

* York.

† See *supra*, pp. 233, 265, 266.

‡ These preparations, with the additions which research and reflection, during the sixteen succeeding years, had supplied, were entirely frustrated by the ever-memorable "Church and King" rioters, in 1791. See "Appeal to the Public," Part. I.; "MS. Papers" destroyed, No. XI.; W. III. 6, 7; XIX. 380, *note*.

§ Yet see W. XIII. 373.

|| See *supra*, p. 204.

¶ See "Preface," W. XX. 509.

** See W. XX. 28—36.

call *fluor*. In Derbyshire it is called *spar*, and they make vases and ornaments for chimney-pieces of it. The acid air is procured by pouring upon it oil of vitriol, and receiving the produce in quicksilver, as with the marine acid air. The first section in my new volume is on the vitriolic acid air, which is procured by heating in it any thing containing phlogiston. Phosphorus is too expensive for me to have much to do with. I should think myself happy if I had an opportunity of shewing your son* some of my late experiments. I do not wonder at your anxiety about him, and shall rejoice when a suitable employment is provided for him.

I thank you for your anecdotes of Mr. Burgh.† Have you any more?

My wife's respectful compliments to you and your son, to which I beg my own may be added.

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.‡

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Sept. 29, 1775.

I SHOULD have thought myself very happy to have had your company a few days at Calne. I regret my loss the more, as I find it not in my power to visit my friends in the West. I meant, indeed, to have made a small excursion or two this summer, but have been prevented by illness, though, I thank God, I am now very well.

You were so obliging as to send me a very remarkable medical case from Dr. Warren, which I intend, with the author's leave, to publish in the *appendix* to my second volume of "Observations on Air," which is now in the press; but I have unfortunately mislaid it, and the printer will want it soon. I must beg, therefore, that you would give my compliments to the ingenious author, and desire that he would supply me with another copy; and if he choose to furnish me with any remarks on other similar cases, I shall be glad to publish them; but I must beg to be favoured with them as soon as possible.

My Harmony goes on but slowly; but I hope it will be out soon after Christmas.

* See *supra*, p. 267.

† See *supra*, p. 234, note ||.

‡ Taunton.

I fully intend to publish the Appeal; and if I should not, you shall certainly have your papers;* but the *Harmony* has taken more time than I expected it would have done. Indeed, I have taken a much larger scope than I had intended. Among other things, I have given a quite new interpretation of “Daniel’s prophecy of seventy weeks,” to which a good deal of historical disquisition, and the calculation of many ancient eclipses, have been necessary, though a few paragraphs will express the result of a great deal of labour, &c.†

I have also pursued my experiments much further than I expected to have done, having been in a very happy train, so that my second volume will be as large as the former, and will contain as many new and as important facts.

I really have not attended to the Institutes of late; but I do not forget them. What remains, however, is a subject of much difficulty, and will require much laborious investigation.

I thank you for your very good sermon.‡ I wish to hear how your “Life of Socinus”§ goes on.

I rejoice that the Address on the Elections|| gained so valuable a convert to the cause of American liberty; but reasoning is now at an end, and I imagine the Americans will not want our assistance.¶

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR,

Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1775.

I AM to set out to-morrow for the camp,** and having but just heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to say that I am well and hearty.

Tell our dear good friend, Dr. Price, who sometimes has doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is

* See *supra*, p. 219.

† See *Scet.* v. W. XX. 42—47.

‡ “The Unsuccessfulness of Christ’s Ministry, and his Reward with God. Before the General Baptist Assembly, London, June 1775.” M. R. X. 673.

§ See *supra*, p. 152.

|| See *supra*, p. 75, note §.

¶ *Orig.* MS.

** With Col. Harrison and Mr. Lynch. These “three members” were sent by “the Congress to confer with General Washington and others, touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a continental army.” Gordon’s *Amer. Revolution*, II. 139.

determined and unanimous,* a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves.

Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed 150 yankeest† this campaign, which is 20,000*l.* a head; and at Bunker's Hill, she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again, by our taking post on Ploughed Hill.‡ During

* Such was a much earlier report from America. Mr. Lindsey thus informs Mr. Turner, "Jan. 17, 1775. I dined yesterday, where I got this cover, with Drs. Price, Franklin, Priestley, and Mr. Quincey: no bad company, you will say. We began and ended with the Americans. Mr. Q. was large on the subject; read four or five long letters lately received from persons of worth and eminence in New England, all of which concurred to assure us that our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic will be free.

"We see Dr. Priestley very often. He has been with us to-day; meditates to write to you soon." *Orig. MS.*

"Dr. Ewing, of Philadelphia," writes, "in February," 1776: "It is not easy to conceive the spirit that reigns through the colonies, nor the determined resolution to suffer the last extremities rather than submit. This spirit, like an electric shock, rose and pervaded all ranks and conditions of men upon the affair of Lexington [*supra*, pp. 210, 211]; and every step of administration since has heightened the indignation they feel against the authors of their sufferings." *Mem. of Price*, p. 56, *note*.

Dr. Gordon thus accounts for this determination and unanimity at the commencement of the revolutionary war:

"The education and reading of the colonists have undoubtedly contributed to encourage and support their opposition to measures deemed destructive to the liberties of their country. Every town in the Massachusetts and Connecticut has a public English school for the education of youth, supported by an annual tax upon the inhabitants, to which any one may send his children, while the expense of their education is nothing more than his proportion of the tax.

"The universal education promoted by these schools spreads a general knowledge among the lowest orders of people, and gives them a taste for reading the interesting publications of the day, while able writers have been, and are, employing their pens in nourishing the spirit of resistance, by arguments, historical narrations, and all the various arts of animated persuasion." *Amer. Revolution*, II. 125.

† There were other comparisons between the "men killed" by the British and their expended ammunition. It was found, "Dec. 25, 1775," that "from the burning of Charlestown, the enemy had fired upwards of 2000 shot and shells," and "killed just a dozen." *Ibid.* p. 147.

‡ Where, "Aug. 26, at night, 2000 intrenched within point blank shot of the British," who, by "a continual fire almost all the day following, killed two and wounded two. The British desisted, and the Americans remained quiet in their new post." *Ibid.* pp. 127, 128.

the same time 60,000 children have been born in America. From these data his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer the whole of our territory.

My sincere respects to Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, and to the club of honest Whigs at the London Coffee House.* Adieu. I am ever yours most affectionately.†

TO MRS. BARBAULD.‡

DEAR MRS. BARBAULD,

Calne, Dec. 20, 1775.

As my wife informs me that you wish to know what I think of your late publication,§ I shall very freely tell you, though,

* See *supra*, p. 209.

† *Pieces*, (1779,) p. 555, where the editor says, "This letter has been several times very incorrectly printed. It is here given from a genuine copy. The parties to whom it is addressed are of the very first order, both in point of literary merit and amiable manners."

‡ Palgrave, where Mr. Barbauld for several years conducted a school with high reputation, "in great measure owing to the literary celebrity of Mrs. Barbauld, and to her active participation with her husband in the task of instruction." She especially undertook, and rendered peculiarly attractive, "the department of geography." *Memoirs*, (see *supra*, p. 54, note §,) pp. xxiv—xxvi.

"She was induced," adds her biographer, (p. xxix,) "to receive, as her own peculiar pupils, several little boys, to whom she condescended to teach the first rudiments of literature." Among "her almost infant scholars," was "Sir William Gell, the zealous explorer of the plain of Troy." Another was "Thomas Denman, Esq.," Solicitor-General to the late Queen Caroline, her intrepid defender, and the uncourtly, though not the inaccurate, delineator of her royal persecutors. Sir Thomas Denman is now "his Majesty's Attorney-General."

The following short but comprehensive remark, by a discerning observer, will more agreeably conclude this note. Miss Harrison (Mrs. Cappe) thus writes to Mr. Turner :

"Warley, (Essex,) June 26, 1774. I had the pleasure in London of seeing Mrs. Barbauld, who appears so very amiable and unaffected, as induces one to believe that her fine genius is not her greatest excellence." *Orig. MS.*

§ "Devotional Pieces, compiled from the Psalms and the Book of Job ; to which are prefixed, Thoughts on the Devotional Taste, on Sects, and on Establishments. MDCCLXXV."

There is this motto from *Gondibert* :

as you are well acquainted with my writings on similar subjects, you must be sensible that my sentiments and those which you now express are very different. But you know my natural freedom, and that it is not only consistent with, but arises from, my sincere friendship; and therefore I know you will excuse it.

My notions on the subjects of your essay were always what are called old-fashioned; and I used to flatter myself that yours were nearly the same with mine: but I, whose religious sentiments have undergone what you call (p. 9) “a total revolution,”* cannot be offended at another person on account of any change of a like nature.

Sometimes people's sentiments and views of things of this nature change, in consequence of coming more into the world; but I do not find that this is the case with myself. I now see pretty much of what is called high life. If there be any such thing in this country, I may say that I *live* in it; but still my ideas with respect to devotion, “sects, and establishments,” are just what they were before; and, I am sorry to say it, in almost every respect the very reverse of those in your essay. And really, Mrs. Barbauld, all my more serious and judicious acquaintance, who are among your best friends, are, without

Praise is devotion fit for mighty minds;
The differing world's agreeing sacrifice.

Annexed is the following dedication, from “Palgrave, Suffolk, July 10, 1775.” It has not been preserved in Mrs. Barbauld's Works (1825).

“To the Rev. John Aikin, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the Academy at Warrington; this Piece, intended to serve that cause to which the labours of his life have been so honourably and successfully devoted, the cause of religion and virtue; as a testimony of veneration for the most respectable of characters; as a tribute of duty to the tenderest of parents, is inscribed, by his grateful and obedient daughter, ANNA LÆTITIA BARBAULD.”

“As a selection,” says Miss Aikin, “it did not meet with great success; nor did the Essay escape without some animadversion. It was afterwards separated from the Psalms, and reprinted with the Miscellaneous Pieces.” *Memoir*, p. xxviii. See *Works*, (1825,) II. 232—259.

* “It is happy for a man when he does not find much to alter in the religious system he has embraced; for if that undergoes a total revolution, his religious feelings are too generally so weakened by the shock, that they hardly recover again their original tone and vigour.” *Works*, II. 236, 237.

exception, of the same opinion, and declared themselves to be so without having had any communication with one another upon the subject.*

To discuss all the articles of your essay would be too much for a letter; but I shall just hint at what I think to be the most exceptionable in it.

I cannot help considering the very *title* of your essay, viz. “on the Devotional Taste,” to be a debasing of the subject. Agreeably to this you say, (p. 2,) that devotion is “an affair of sentiment and feeling, and has its source in that relish for the sublime, the vast, and the beautiful, by which we taste the charms of poetry, and other compositions that address our finer feelings.”† You also say, (p. 5,) that “those who want this taste want a sense, a part of their nature.”‡

Now, if this be the case, all endeavours to acquire it must be in vain. But then, being a thing so vague and so rare as taste in works of genius, it may be thought that the want of it is not much to be regretted; for though, like other refined tastes, it might add to the elegant enjoyments of life, we may do very well without it. This may not be a strictly logical inference from your maxim, but it is an inference that will naturally be drawn from it, and is not far from being just.

On the other hand, to consider devotion not as an affair of taste, but, as it certainly is, an elevated passion, or affection, adapted to a proper object, is not liable to any just objection. Whereas your placing it on the same footing with the taste “for the fine arts,” has led you to treat of it in such a manner that it appears to some of my most judicious acquaintance that the tendency of your essay is in reality the very reverse of the professed object of it; for that, instead of promoting the true “spirit of devotion,” it will contribute to damp it.

Many serious persons are more especially offended, and I think justly, at your comparing devotion to the passion of love, thinking it to be a profanation of the subject; as when you compare (p. 7) the conduct of a devout person with that of one “who loved with ardour and delicacy,” with respect to

* See *infra*, p. 288.

† *Works*, II. 232.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 234.

his mentioning “the name of his mistress amongst mixed companies,”* and especially when you say (p. 23), “you can hardly address the greatest of all Beings in a strain of more profound adoration than the lover uses to the object of his attachment.”† Now if there be any persons who apply the language of “profound adoration” to a human being, I consider it as a most abominable practice, as nothing less than direct impiety, and that the crime is the same in the person who *bears* such language, as in the person who *uses* it. As there is an infinite difference in the object of our attachment in these two cases, certainly both our feelings, and the expression of our feelings, ought to be very different, so as hardly to bear the most remote comparison. A much more proper comparison in this case would be that mixture of love and reverence that a child bears towards his parent.

Your notion, (p. 10,) that “philosophy is unfavourable to piety,”‡ I think altogether ill-founded, if by philosophy you mean true philosophy, founded on the most just and exalted conceptions of the Divine Being and his providence that we can attain to. For surely the more raised are our conceptions of God, the deeper will be our sense of humility and reverence, the more entire will be our confidence in his care and goodness, and the more unreserved our resignation to his will; and

* “In general, I believe, we may venture to assert, that no man who has a proper veneration for the primary truths of religion, will be fond of making them the subjects of common discourse, any more than a person who loved with ardour and delicacy would choose to introduce the name of his mistress amongst mixed companies in every light and trivial conversation. The regard in both cases would be deep and silent, and not apt to vent itself in words, unless called forth by some interesting occasion.” This censured passage, which followed the word “metaphysics,” (*ibid.* p. 235, l. 24,) was afterwards entirely omitted.

† *Ibid.* p. 245.

‡ “Shall we mention philosophy as an enemy to religion? God forbid! Philosophy,

Daughter of Heaven, that slow ascending still

Investigating sure the form of things

With radiant finger points to heaven again.

Yet there is a view in which she exerts an influence perhaps rather unfavourable to the fervour of simple piety.” *Ibid.* p. 237.

these are the sentiments that are the basis, I may say the essence, of true devotion. The firm belief of a providence, with respect to which nothing is either too great or too small, that every degree of happiness, and every measure of affliction, are appointed by the same wise and kind over-ruling power, cannot impress the mind in a manner unfavourable to the most lively feelings of gratitude, confidence, and joy.

To have the mind habitually impressed with these sentiments, is to set God always before us, and to live as "seeing him who is invisible." It is this that raises the mind above the world, and keeps it fixed, "stayed on God," in all the varieties of prosperity and adversity, and enables us to "rejoice evermore." It is this that gives us a solid satisfaction in doing and bearing the will of God, as such, here below, and that fills the mind with "joy unspeakable and full of glory," in the prospect of death and a future life. Such language as this is equally that of the Scriptures, and that of the strictest philosophy, of which you say, (p. 14,) that it "must ever be cold and dry."*

If you mean a spurious and false philosophy, you should have specified it. At present, it will naturally be concluded, from what you say on the subject, that you have adopted the maxim ascribed to the Papists, viz. that "ignorance is the mother of devotion;" and what you say of establishments in general, will be thought to favour that construction of your meaning.†

Indeed, I am much surprised that you should give so evident a preference to establishments, above every thing that comes under the denomination of a sect, and especially that you should say, (p. 34,) that "an establishment will preserve devotion from ever sinking into contempt."‡ I am persuaded

* "A prayer, strictly philosophical, must ever be a cold and dry composition." *Works*, II. 239.

† To such a "construction," by some severer critic, in a "Review," Mrs. Barbauld probably refers, in a letter to Dr. Aikin, at this period. "I thank you, my dear brother, for so kindly drawing your pen in my defence. An admirer of popery. Heaven bless their wise heads! when it was one of my earliest aversions." *Ibid.* p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 252.

you would not have used this language if you had seen what I lately saw upon the continent, where every thing relating to devotion is more absurd and contemptible than can well be expressed; and what you see of an establishment here, is, in fact, no more than a sect, and has nothing of the venerable appearance of its mother church.

It appears to me that the devotion of the Church of Rome, and even, in a great measure, that of the Church of England, as partaking of the same spirit, is so far from answering the most useful purposes of devotion, viz. that of being a security for the practice of virtue, that it is too often the substitute for the most substantial part of virtue, and in general has little or no connexion with the duties of social life. The feelings that are inspired by solemn processions, pictures, images, music, &c., are very improperly called devotion.

What you say, (p. 33,) of establishments in general, that “they affect the mind by splendid buildings, music, the mysterious pomp of ancient ceremonies, the sacredness of peculiar orders, habits, and titles,”* &c., only applies to some establishments, and does not belong to them as such. There is nothing of this pomp in the Scotch establishment, which is as meagre in these respects as almost any sect, except that of the Quakers; and, on the other hand, the Moravians, who never were any thing but a sect, make more use of music, pomp, and ceremony, than the Church of England.

You call establishments, (p. 53,) “the womb and the grave”† of sects; but though this is very prettily said, it is by no means true in fact. You expressly consider Christianity as a sect, and so did the Apostle Paul himself. Mahometism is also a sect, and the whole of the Reformed religion is a sect; but none of these sects have yet sunk into the establishments from which they sprung. It depends entirely upon other circumstances than its being a sect, whether any separate mode of religion keeps its ground, and continues along with the establishment, whether it sinks into it, or whether it overturns the establishment; and there are instances in history of all these events.

* *Ibid.* pp. 251, 252.

† *Ibid.* p. 251.

You say, (p. 6,) “there is nothing more prejudicial to the feelings of a devout heart than a habit of disputing on religious subjects.”* Now I am clearly of opinion that the contrary is universally true, and that it may be evinced both from the nature of the thing and from fact. No person can have practical religion much at heart, who has not a value for religious truth (which, indeed, is the necessary foundation of all religious practice); and if he really values it, he will, if occasion requires, contend for it, and with more or less earnestness, in proportion to its apprehended importance. Did not our Saviour dispute much, St. Paul more, the primitive Christians without ceasing, the first reformers and the Puritans the same? If you only look into their writings you will find them to be, in general, half controversial and half practical, or devotional; as may be exemplified by the writings of Luther, Calvin, Owen, Howe, Baxter, &c. And who were more distinguished for their piety than Socinus and Biddle, whose writings are entirely controversial?

If I look among my own acquaintance, I see all the reason in the world to conclude, that those who are indifferent to religious truth, have the least regard to religion under any description of it, and that they have the least of a devotional spirit. My own evidence, if that might be allowed to have any weight, (and few persons now living have had more to do with religious controversy than myself,) would decide clearly against you. It is, I am confident, the same fervour of mind, partly perhaps natural, and partly improved by education, that produces, I hope, in some measure, both those effects which you deem to be absolutely incompatible.

Lastly, I would observe that common opinion, which, in this case, may be allowed to have some foundation, is entirely contrary to this maxim of yours. For the orthodox Dissenters are always supposed to be the most pious and devout of us all, and yet it is notorious that they are the most disputatious of all Dissenters. I therefore think that the direct reverse of your maxim is universally and necessarily true.

* *Works*, II. 234, 235.

I am exceedingly concerned to have occasion to say any thing to Mrs. Barbauld, whom I always have esteemed, and always shall esteem so much, that may give her pain; but I shall be greatly deceived if you do not think it well meant, and, believing it well meant, if you be displeased with me.

To balance my opinion, you have secured the applause of the high clergy, (as I know in several instances,) of the decent part of the polite world in general, and of those Dissenters in particular who wish to have their defection from us made easier to them than it would otherwise have been. On this account I cannot help wishing that you had, at least, qualified what you have said on these subjects, with some intimation of the stress, which I am sure you cannot but lay, on religious truth, and the rights of conscience. For, because you have said nothing about them, when a tolerably fair opportunity presented, many will conclude, though unjustly, that you have little regard for them.

I cannot say but that it gives me, as well as many others, much concern, that with respect to the important subjects of your essay, a person of your acknowledged genius, and a Dissenter, should have given so much countenance to a turn of thinking which is very seducing, and, I think, very alarming and dangerous. It is the way to which the world and the temper of the times leads; and this so strongly, that all we can write, say, or do, is ineffectual to counteract it, except with a very few persons, in comparison, but whose judgments are, in my opinion, more solid, and whose minds are of a firmer, or, as you, perhaps, would say, of a harsher texture, more rigid, obstinate, and uncomplying.

But though you and I, Mrs. Barbauld, take different roads, I shall always think that you act from the best principles, and write with the best intentions. Our difference of opinion and conduct, therefore, is merely a subject of regret, without the least shade of blame. If, upon reflection, you should think there may be something of weight in any of these remarks, I could wish that, for the sake of many serious persons who esteem and love you, and who are exceedingly hurt by your late publication, you would, in a second edition, qualify some

of the expressions, as far as regard to your real persuasion will admit.*

I am, dear Mrs. Barbauld, yours very sincerely.†

TO REV. W. TURNER.‡

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Dec. 24, 1775.

I HAVE been a long time in answering your last, but you were a long time in answering mine, and really I had nothing of consequence to write to you about. I am much obliged to you for the account you sent of the remarkable thunder storm. I sent it to the Royal Society, and take it for granted it will be published in the transactions.

The Greek Harmony and Dissertations§ are both, after many

* There are a few verbal alterations, but the only qualifications I have discovered, after a careful collation of the editions, are the omission, *supra*, p. 281, note *, and the following additional paragraph at the conclusion of the Essay :

“ There remains only to add, lest the preceding view of sects and establishments should in any degree be misapprehended, that it has nothing to do with the *truth* of opinions, and relates only to the influence which the adventitious circumstances attending them may have upon the manners and morals of their followers. It is, therefore, calculated to teach us candour, but not indifference. Large views of the moral polity of the world may serve to illustrate the providence of God in his different dispensations, but are not made to regulate our individual conduct, which must conscientiously follow our own opinions and belief. We may see much good in an establishment, the doctrines of which we cannot give our assent to, without violating our integrity; we may respect the tendencies of a sect, the tenets of which we utterly disapprove. We may think practices useful which we cannot adopt without hypocrisy. We may think all religions beneficial, and believe of one alone that it is true.” *Works*, II. 259.

† MS. copy, obligingly communicated by Mr. Charles Aikin, from the original, in his possession.

‡ Wakefield.

§ See *supra*, pp. 204, 252, note. On this subject Mr. Jebb had thus written, from “ Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1775,” to Mr. Lindsey :

“ It gives me great pleasure to hear that Dr. Priestley is about giving us a Harmony of the Gospels. I have no such predilection to my own hypothesis, as not to be well satisfied in seeing a very different one established in the manner he proposes. I think his reasoning very forcible. My chief doubt is with respect to the transposition of the fifth and sixth chapters of St. John, which is necessary to the truth of his main idea.

“ With respect to the probable causes of the transposition of events, by

hindrances, at length nearly printed, and I could wish to put the English one into the same hands. By your last, I should think you must have nearly finished what you were so obliging as to undertake;* and though I would not hurry you, I cannot help saying that I should be very glad if you should have done it to your own mind in about a month. But I will wait another year rather than hurry you. I hope the work will be an useful one. I have taken a good deal of pains with the Dissertations. I hope to send you a copy of them in about three weeks.

I have ordered Mr. Johnson to send you and Mr. Michell† copies of my second volume on Air, and a pamphlet relating to a philosophical dispute,‡ which I hope will afford you some amusement.

I have no news to send you. About a month ago I had a short letter from Dr. Franklin, written in good spirits the day before he set out for the camp,§ but I think Mr. Lindsey sent you a copy of it. I think it probable that Canada is now in the hands of the Provincials.|| How much farther the ministry

the evangelists themselves, I entirely agree with him, and think that his intended publication will be of great consequence to the Christian world. When I have the happiness of seeing Dr. Priestley, which I hope for, upon going to London, it will give me great pleasure to have further discourse with him upon this interesting subject." *Orig. MS.*

On the previous "Jan. 9," Mr. Lindsey had written to Mr. Jebb: "I am desired by Dr. Priestley to present you his respects and acknowledgments for the book you sent him. He came to town, Saturday, and I believe and hope will now stay the winter. His health is not quite established; but I hope will soon become so, by the skilful advice of some of his medical friends." *Orig. MS.*

* At the commencement of this year. Thus Mr. Lindsey writes, "Jan. 26, 1775," to Mr. Turner:

"On Sunday night Dr. Priestley called here, and told me he was sending a packet to you. I have seen him since at Lord Shelburne's, and telling him I should write, he desired his kind remembrances; and he hopes you got the Harmony safe." *Orig. MS.*

† See *supra*, p. 78.

‡ "Philosophical Empiricism; containing Remarks on a Charge of Plagiarism, by Dr. Higgins; interspersed with Observations relating to different kinds of Air."

§ See *supra*, p. 276.

|| The expedition entirely failed. See *infra*, p. 289.

will be able to go, time must shew. How is your manufacture? The nation seems not to be at all alarmed.

I shall be glad to hear from you soon, especially with respect to the Harmony.

I beg your care of the inclosed to any of my friends at Leeds. My wife's and my own best respects to yourself and Mrs. Turner.

P. S. I have just sent Mrs. Barbauld a very long and very serious letter, on the subject of her late essay, disapproving totally of all the sentiment of it. Dr. Price, and all my serious and judicious acquaintance in London, think as I do on the subject, and approved of my letter to her.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.†

DEAR SIR,

London, Feb. 9, 1776.

I BLAME myself much for not answering your former letter, but I was just then setting out on a tour upon the continent, and after that I had nothing very particular to write about.

I have been very variously employed ever since, and am now intent upon several courses of experiments which are very promising. Among other things, I have lately sent to the Royal Society an account of a set of experiments to ascertain the use of the *blood* in respiration,‡ which I find is to discharge phlogiston from the system; and it affects air in the very same manner when congealed, and out of the body, as it does when fluid, and in the body. It is also acted upon by the air through a bladder, and a large body of *serum*, as well as in immediate contact. I have likewise proved decisively that *fixed air* is a modification of the nitrous acid. But the experiments, though very remarkable, are too particular for a letter.

We have just got a little news from America. A ship which left Virginia the 12th of January, brings an account that Lord Dunmore had landed, and in attacking some intrenchments of

* Orig. MS.

† Kendal.

‡ "Read, Jan. 25, 1776." *Phil. Trans.* LXVI. 226. See Mr. Parkes's "Chemical Essays," I. 27.

the Provincials, had been repulsed with the loss of seventy or eighty men, and with difficulty regained his ship.* By their last accounts from Canada, General Montgomery was preparing to attack Quebec in a few days. The ministry say he had made an attempt, and had been repulsed with loss.† Nothing new at Boston—provisions very scarce,‡ but it is thought the troops in it may hold out.

To-morrow will come out an excellent pamphlet of Dr. Price's.§ He sent me a copy last night, and I sat up till after

* See Gordon's *Amer. Revolution*, II. 111—114.

† Dec. 31, 1775, he fell in the attempt. Arnold was desperately wounded, though for some time he maintained the blockade of Quebec. *Ibid.* pp. 184—188.

“There is a superb monument to the memory of General Montgomery, at St. Paul's Church, in New York.” *Amer. Ann.* II. 286 note. “He was of a good family in Ireland, and had served with reputation in the late war with France. His excellent qualities procured him an uncommon share of private affection; his abilities, of public esteem.” *Gordon*, II. 188. The following lines have been in my recollection through half a century. They were probably written for his epitaph.

Montgomery falls: let no fond breast repine
That Hampden's patriot-death, brave chief, was thine.
With his shall freedom consecrate thy name,
Shall date her rising glories from thy fame;
Shall build her throne of empire on thy grave:
What more reward can patriot-virtue crave?

‡ “Nov. 16, 1775. Fences, trees, houses, &c., were taken down, and carried off for fuel: beef, mutton, and pork, were 1s. 1½d. sterling per pound, geese half-a-guinea a piece, and fowls five shillings. At the scarcest season, half-a-guinea was given for a dozen of common eggs.” *Ibid.* p. 143.

§ “Observations on Civil Liberty, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America,” of which “60,000 copies” were sold “in a few months.”

“Presently the adversaries were in dreadful array; preachers of the gospel of peace,” says Mr. Morgan, “from the Archbishop of York to John Wesley,” and of pamphleteers an “immense number,” chiefly “pensioners of government, or such as hoped to recommend themselves to a place among that honourable band.”

As to the “Rockinghamites,” and especially their *protégé*, “that very equivocal friend of liberty, Mr. Burke, Dr. Price's principles were much too liberal for their creed, and regarded by them in a light no less unfavourable than by the most strenuous supporters of administration.” *Mem. of Price*, pp. 57—62.

Lindsey to Jebb, “Feb. 17, 1776. I shall take care of your note to Dr. Price. His pamphlet is a noble one indeed. I will give you one proof of it.

one o'clock to read it. Very soon, Israel Manduit* is to come out with something on the other side of the question. There is nothing that looks like a disposition to relent on the side of the court, but, on the other hand, the most determined ran-cour, and infatuated confidence of success.

I sent your very proper and sensible paper to the *Evening Post*. They promised to insert it.

I shall be very glad to hear from you.†

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.‡

DEAR SIR,

London, April 4, 1776.

I AM quite ashamed when I consider how long, and how much, I am in your debt. All I can say by way of excuse is, that a good deal of discussion was necessary to answer your letters properly,§ and the time I give to letter-writing will hardly admit of it. Besides, I really should not be able to give you much satisfaction with respect to the subjects you mention. I wish I could have your company for a week at Calne, and you would soon get to the bottom of my knowledge of them, or any thing else. Perhaps you may spare a week or a fortnight this summer. Mr. Toulmin mentions a meeting at Bristol about Whit-Sunday. Will you meet me there, and let me conduct you to Calne?

Just to shew that I have not forgot you, I sent you my "Philosophical Empiricism," and now send you a paper printed for the "Philosophical Transactions;"|| and shall send you, by the next coach, "Observations on the Harmony of the Evangelists."¶¶

It was yesterday signified to the printer that he would be prosecuted by the Directors of the Bank, if he proceeded in printing another edition, and dispersing it. This menace, I am told, had intimidated Mr. Cadell; but that Dr. Price was advised, without fear, to print as many copies as the public demanded; and there is an intention of printing it in a smaller size, that it may be an easier purchase." *Orig.* MS.

* Who had written, in 1772, "The Case of the Dissenting Ministers," in favour of their application. See *supra*, pp. 162—165.

† *Orig.* MS.

§ See *supra*, pp. 189, 190.

¶¶ W. XX. 19—118.

‡ "Exon."

|| See *supra*, pp. 287, 288.

I am very busy with my experiments. I hope to have another volume the next winter.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, July 8, 1776.

WE are, indeed, exceedingly disappointed in your not coming to Calne, and, for my part, I see no sufficient reason for your confining yourself to London all the summer-time; but you are the best judge. If it must be so, we must submit, though I own it is with peculiar reluctance and chagrin.

What have you done with respect to a chapel? I admire your cheerful perseverance under your many discouragements; but it is the noblest of causes that you are engaged in.

I keep wishing to hear from you almost every post, hoping to receive some comfort in the present unpromising prospect of American and public affairs;† and your not writing makes me conclude you had nothing encouraging to send me.

I see, by the last accounts, that Boston‡ has declared for *independence*.§ But it does not seem that this will be the

* *Orig. MS.*

† On which Mr. Lindsey had written to Mr. Turner, "March 15. I was yesterday in the House of Lords, with Dr. Priestley, and heard the whole debate on the Duke of Grafton's motion, which was treated with great levity by the ministry, but others were much affected by the arguments offered in support of it.

"The Duke of Richmond called upon the bench of bishops to take care of being instruments of blood; and warned them, that in the probable ruin, their rich, overgrown preferments would be the first things that would be seized." *Orig. MS.*

Since this alarm was sounded, our *secular* church, raised "upon the foundation," not "of the apostles and prophets," but of an Act of Parliament, has known only a prosperous fortune. "She hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously;" and by her *hierarchs*, as Burke once delighted to behold them, she still "erects her mitred head in courts and parliaments." Perhaps, even now, like the mystical woman of the Revelation, "she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and shall see no sorrow." Yet, after a long, undisturbed reign of ecclesiastical corruption, "the times of reformation" are at hand, the *Beverleys* are abroad, and surely her "day is coming."

‡ Which had been evacuated by the British in March, 1776.

§ "In the Massachusetts' Assembly, it was voted unanimously, that 'if Congress shall think proper to declare the colonies independent, this House will approve of the measure.'" *Gordon*, II. 268, 269.

general sentiment, and upon this they may fatally divide.*

I inclose you a law case, that you may shew it to Mr. Lee, and beg the favour of his opinion.

I do not remember I was ever so long without composing something or other, as I have been at present. But I have been making experiments every day, and have not failed to observe something or other new every day; though, in general, nothing of great importance. However, every item is of some value.

I have done nothing yet about the *soul*; but I shall certainly write with my usual freedom, though not without such precau-

* The result, however, was very different, urged on, and, indeed, rendered indispensable, when a treaty was discovered for 18,000 German carcases, to be promptly supplied, in good fighting condition, by the Prince of Hesse, to George III., who, in the *versification* of a King's-speech, somewhat later, thus complains :

Our brother-butcher, *Serene Hesse*,
Will sell us no more carcases.

"The measures of the British government," says Dr. Holmes, "accelerated an event which, if anticipated and wished by a few of the colonists, had not, hitherto, been generally desired. But foreign assistance must be sought [see *supra*, p. 271] in the character of independent states. *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, produced great effect. While it demonstrated the necessity, the advantages, and the practicability of independence, it treated kingly government with opprobrium, and hereditary succession with ridicule. The change of the public mind on this occasion, is without a parallel. In the short space of two years, nearly three millions of people passed over, from the love and duty of loyal subjects, to the hatred and resentment of enemies.

"June 7. [1776.] A motion was made in Congress, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, for declaring the colonies free and independent. This caused very interesting and animated debates, and gave great scope to genius and eloquence. John Adams and John Dickenson, the first for independence, and the other against it, were pre-eminently distinguished. July 4, the measure was approved by nearly an unanimous vote." *Amer. Ann.* II. 292, 293; *Gordon*, II. 274—276, 289—298. See W. XXI. 169; XXII. 243, 244; XXIV. 264; XXV. 83 *notes*.

Dr. Chambers to Mr. Lindsey, "May 19," says, "It is likely that the Americans will very soon declare themselves independent states. What is this pamphlet of *Common Sense*, written and circulated in America? Methinks I feel very eager to see it. Will not some benevolent hand help it to Almon, that he may give it the public? Or why not give us an extract from it in some of the papers? Pray inclose and send me Dr. Price's last pamphlet, in one of my covers, or divide it into two." *Orig. MS.*

tions as will, I hope, prevent my giving just offence to all truly sensible and candid persons. And, as for others, I shall not give myself much thought about them.

Mr. Jervis is about to take a journey to see his friends in the west, and expects to be absent about a month. In that time I must be at Bowood to supply his place, and then I must suspend my experiments, but may find time for writing a little. Whatever I do, you may depend upon hearing of it, and seeing it.

Our best respects to you and Mrs. Lindsey.*

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.†

DEAR SIR,

Calne, July 9, 1776.

I DO not know whether, in my last, I said any thing about your “Life of Socinus.” If not, I beg you would insert my name in your list of subscribers, and send me, in covers, to Lord Shelburne, a dozen of your subscription papers. I am not now in a situation to procure you any considerable number of names by my own application, but I shall like to put them into the hands of some of my friends, who may have it in their power. I think, however, I can promise you Lord Shelburne’s name, and perhaps get a few of those who may visit Bowood this summer. I heartily wish success to your useful undertaking.

I am much obliged to you for the sermon,‡ &c., you sent me, and like it much, except that I think your compliments to me are excessive, and may be thought forced.

I do not remember that I was ever so long without writing something or other as I have been at present. I have done little, also, of late, besides making experiments, in which I have made considerable progress. But in Mr. Jervis’s absence I shall probably compose some moral and metaphysical essays, which is a thing that I have projected some time;§ and while I am doing Mr. Jervis’s duty at Bowood, I shall be under the necessity of suspending my experiments.

* *Orig. MS.*

† Taunton.

‡ “The American War Lamented. Taunton, Feb. 1776.”

§ See *infra*, pp. 294, 296, 302.

If you have any farther scheme of composition, I shall be glad to be informed of it. I think, now that you are so far engaged, you will always have matter to write about, as indeed there will in the nature of things be an increasing demand for good writers, especially in moral and theological subjects.

My Harmony, in Greek, though printed, Mr. Johnson, I find, does not choose to publish till the next winter, by which time I hope the English will be ready. This depends on Mr. Turner, who has undertaken to add the illustration of difficult passages.*

I shall be glad to hear from you soon.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Oct. 6, 1776.

I OUGHT to have written to you before, but I was waiting for some answer from those of my friends, to whom I sent your Proposals, and I have not yet had any. Lord Shelburne gave his name very cheerfully, but I have seen nobody else to whom I could, with any propriety, apply, except some who I found had subscribed in London. But I do not see any occasion to defer putting the work to the press. You cannot doubt but that there will be a competent number demanded, if not subscribed for.

My “Lectures on Oratory and Criticism” are got half through the press, and I am meditating another metaphysical work, “on Matter and Spirit,”‡ but I shall not, probably, print it till the next summer.

* See *supra*, p. 287; *infra*, p. 297, note †.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Mr. Lindsey writes to Mr. Turner, “Nov. 12, 1776. I had a letter very lately from Dr. Priestley, which says, to my great regret, that we are not to expect him in town till Christmas. But he tells me that another volume on Air is already gone to the press. His Lectures on Oratory, to be dedicated to Lord Fitzmaurice, are nearly printed; and he is, in earnest, set down to his great metaphysical work.

“Of the second, I rejoice to hear Mr. Lee, from Mr. Cappe, speak in very high terms. Of the last I have great expectations, from the clearness of his views of things, and art of making difficult things easy, and from his thorough comprehension of Hartley. In a letter to Dr. Price, he told him, in an amicable way, that he should combat all his metaphysics. His Harmony will be published this week. I suppose a copy is already sent to you :

Please to give my compliments to Dr. Warren,* and tell him that if he have any paper that I can with propriety insert in my Appendix, I will gladly do it.

I have not your last at hand, and do not recollect whether any thing in it requires particular notice, but was unwilling, though in haste, to defer writing to you any longer.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Dec. 8, 1776.

I INCLOSE a paper, which is part of a letter from Mr. Cappe, containing a few names of subscribers to your book. I am not acquainted with Mr. Beverly or Mr. Williams, and cannot, therefore, send them your proposals. Perhaps some other of your friends may.

Mr. Graham, to whom I had sent your proposals, desires me to add to the names he sent you, that of Rev. Mr. Lloyd, of Pudsey. You will, I am confident, make it a very useful work; and I hope you will be at the same time a considerable gainer by it. I wish you may get any intelligence from the Continent to make it worth your while to defer the publication. I own I have not much expectation from that quarter. However, you do right to endeavour to get all the information you can. If you can give a tolerably clear history of the rise, progress, and present state of Socinianism in Poland, &c., it will be of more consequence than collecting anecdotes of Socinus himself.†

for he ordered it. You will be pleased with the dedication, and, I think, much approve both the preface and the dissertations, as well as the structure of the whole composition." *Orig. MS.*

* See *supra*, p. 275.

† On this subject Mr. Toulmin had thus written, from "Taunton, June 29, 1776, to Mr. Bretland:

"In deference to the judgment of my friend, and the ministers to whom he alludes, I have written to Mr. Sowden this week, though I expect no satisfaction on the point of the present state of the Unitarian churches in Poland; because, (unless such churches have been formed since,) by a severe edict about an hundred years since, all the Unitarians were banished, and their churches exterminated." (See W. V. 83.)

On another subject Mr. Toulmin adds, "Dr. Price has favoured me with a letter this week. He acquaints me he has prepared a supplement to his

I am really very glad that you think of illustrating Hartley's Evidences of Christianity. I shall be very glad to be excused from what I once intended, and, after all, I might never have done it. I shall be glad to hear of the progress you make in the work.*

I have just printed a pretty large metaphysical work, which I propose to call "Disquisitions concerning Matter and Spirit." You will easily guess the principal design of it; but it has rather a greater extent than the title speaks. I shall probably send it to the press soon after Christmas, and in due time it will speak for itself. You will not easily imagine the connexion; but one great object of the book is to combat the doctrine of pre-existence, and especially that of our Saviour.

How are your neighbours affected towards America? It does not appear that the Americans are at all discouraged by their losses, and I have little doubt but they will gain their point, and become entirely independent of this country.

P. S. We have lost our minister, Mr. Williams. I have sent an invitation to Mr. Jervis's brother, but I do not think him likely to accept it. Can you in that case recommend any one to us? There are two places to serve, at the distance of seven miles, and together they raise £45, exclusive of assistance from the funds.†

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR,

Paris,‡ Jan. 27, 1777.

I RECEIVED your very kind letter of Febuary last, some time in September. Major Carleton, who was so kind as to forward it to me, had not an opportunity of doing it sooner.

'Observations on Civil Liberty,' which he proposes to publish next October." MS. copy, by Rev. B. Mardon.

* In a list of Dr. Toulmin's works, annexed to his Funeral Sermon, by Rev. J. Kentish, is "a short anonymous letter addressed separately to three gentlemen, accompanied with Dr. Hartley's 'Truth of the Christian Religion,' as extracted by the London Unitarian Society." M. R. X. 673. See *supra*, p. 212.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Where Franklin had arrived, Dec. 15th preceding. He does not appear to have assumed a public character till the following December.

I rejoice to hear of your continual progress in those useful discoveries. I find that you have set all the philosophers of Europe at work upon *fixed air*; and it is with great pleasure I observe how high you stand in their opinion; for I enjoy my friend's fame as my own.

The hint you gave me, jocularly, that you did not quite despair of the *philosopher's stone*, draws from me a request, that when you have found it, you will take care to lose it again; for I believe, in my conscience, that mankind are wicked enough to continue slaughtering one another as long as they can find money to pay the butchers. But, of all the wars in my time, this on the part of England appears to me the wickedest; having no cause, but malice against liberty, and the jealousy of commerce. And, I think, the crime seems likely to meet with its proper punishment; a total loss of her own liberty, and the destruction of her own commerce.

I suppose you would like to know something of the state of affairs in America. In all probability we shall be much stronger the next campaign than we were in the last; better armed, better disciplined, and with more ammunition. When I was in the camp before Boston, the army had not five rounds of powder a man. This was kept a secret,* even from our people. The world wondered that we so seldom fired a cannon. We could not afford it, but we may now make powder in plenty.

To me it seems, as it has always done, that this war must end in our favour, and in the ruin of Britain, if she do not speedily put an end to it. An English gentleman here the other day, in company with some French, remarked, that it was folly in France not to make war immediately. And, *in England*, replied one of them, *not to make peace*.

Do not believe the reports you hear of our internal divisions. We are, I believe, as much united as any people ever were, and as firmly.†

* Communicated by Washington. See *supra*, p. 276; *Pieces*, (1779,) p. 555.

† *Works*, (1818,) II. 15.

During the interval which now occurs in the correspondence, there are the following passages from Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner :

“ 1777, Jan. 30. Dr. Priestley is in town. Pray in what forwardness

TO REV. N. CAPPE.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, April 13, 1777.

I AM really ashamed to think how long your very friendly letter has lain by me unanswered, though I think mine have sometimes lain as long by you. In fact, I have had more illness, and what I find to be a consequence of illness, more indolence, than usual for some time past; but I hope with care and exercise I shall get better in both respects.

Your information with respect to *Tatian** was very seasonable, and the leaf was cancelled. I cannot recollect how I fell into that mistake. However, in looking into Lardner about it, I found more evidence than I had met with before in favour of my general hypothesis. With respect to this subject I believe you and I shall always differ. We have both of us considered it with a good deal of attention; and having been long used to see it in different lights, the same arguments affect us very differently, so that we must bear with one another. I own I am rather surprised that you should prefer the authority of Luke† to that of the other evangelists, and that you should think that our Saviour anticipated the celebration of the Passover; but I have nothing to observe with respect to either of those subjects besides what you will find in my Dissertation. I expect to print the English, with Mr. Turner's illustration of difficult passages,‡ in the course of this summer. I hope you have received a copy of the Greek, as well as of the Lectures, and the third volume on Air, which I meant for your son.§

I am afraid you will think I have not taken so much pains are notes to the English Harmony? I was glad to hear Dr. Heberden, in public, commend the Greek Harmony, particularly for the doctrine of inspiration.

"March 11. Dr. Priestley talks of leaving London in about ten days, when Lord Shelburne goes to Bowood, at the Easter holidays, and does not intend to return to town, as Mrs. Priestley is but in indifferent spirits, and alone. I shall be sorry to lose the doctor so soon." *Orig. MS.*

* "Who composed a Harmony in the second century." See W. XX. 18, *note* *.

† Strenuously maintained in Evanson's *Dissonance*, (1792,) pp. 21, &c.

‡ See *supra*, p. 294.

§ See *supra*, p. 267, *note* *.

to finish the Lectures as you could have wished; but I did as much as I well could, without studying the subject afresh, and I could not bring my mind to it, it is so long since I gave any attention to things of that nature. I struck out a good deal that I thought superfluous.

My manner has always been to give my whole attention to a subject till I have satisfied myself with respect to it, and then think no more about the matter. I hardly ever look into any thing that I have published; and when I do, it sometimes appears quite new to me.

I have now in the press a pretty large metaphysical work, as mentioned in the list of my books in the volume on Air. It is written with great freedom, and I flatter myself you will not dislike the latter part of it, which contains my illustrations of the doctrine of necessity, though you will hardly go with me through the other, in which I endeavour to prove that man has no soul besides his brain; yet Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Jebb, who have seen the whole work, agree with me in every thing. If my printer had not used me very ill, the first part would have been printed by this time. I mean to have it printed some time before it be published, and shall send you one of the first copies, to have the benefit of your remarks.

I thank you for your serious and excellent fast sermon,* and imagine that the time is approaching when we shall have still more reason for fasting and humiliation.

I wish you would give my compliments to Dr. Hunter,† and thank him for his letter, though I am not convinced by it, and it would answer no end to continue the correspondence on the subject. In Hale's Statistical Essays, (Vol. I. 325,) he will find an opinion much nearer to mine than any thing he has expressed.

Hoping to hear from you sooner than I can pretend to deserve, I am, &c.‡

* "Preached on the 13th of the preceding December, a day set apart for a general fast. It quickly went through two editions; and the highest encomiums were passed upon it by men of great celebrity." *Mem. of N. Cappe*, (1820,) pp. 32—38.

† See *supra*, p. 266.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Sept. 14, 1777.

I HAVE desired Mr. Johnson to send you a copy of my "Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit," which I shall be obliged to you if you will be so good as to read with some care, that, if it be necessary, I may yet make alterations in it before it be published. A second volume on Necessity is nearly printed off, and that will also be sent to you for the same purpose.

It is very probable that in the Disquisitions you may find many things that you will disapprove, and I may not see reason to alter; but I hope by the help of such friends as you to send it out free from very gross mistakes, or passages needlessly offensive. I hope you will make as much dispatch as you conveniently can.

I am now busy in writing notes and occasional paraphrases for my English Harmony,* and I have made so many new experiments, that I must make another publication on the subject; but I shall change my title, and begin a new work.† My experiments are more in the way of chemistry than before. I shall probably go deeper in this business than ever, in consequence of having undertaken to teach philosophy to Lord Shelburne's children, and having a noble apparatus for that purpose. I often wish I had your son with us. My best respects to him.

P. S. I must beg you would not shew the Disquisitions to any body, or speak of them, till they be published.

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Nov. 20, 1777.

I SHALL be governed by you with respect to the Harmony, and should be glad if Dr. Jebb could peruse my paraphrase,

* See *supra*, p. 204, note †.

† He, however, carried on this work to the sixth volume, in 1786, and condensed it into three volumes in 1790. See W. XXV. 371.

&c. But he has not time, and I am unwilling to trouble him.* When you are satisfied with it, I shall be so.

You would oblige me much if you would put down short hints of the additions you would wish to be made, though I have done more than I ever intended, or thought necessary. To write notes where there is no obscurity, or none of any consequence, is trifling. A full and formal commentary was never my design. I have my corrected translations to send you still; but I wait to receive some that Mr. Dodson† has been long collecting for his own use, to add to any of his that I may have omitted.

As the Illustrations‡ have been so long in the printer's hands, I wish you could have seen them before they were printed. I do not know when it will be done, unless you would be so good as to look after it.

By this time the king has made his speech,§ and you are probably acquainted with the contents of it. I am willing to hope that nothing material has been done by Howe,|| and that

* In 1776, he had resolved on "the study of physic; but in all the various schemes which were suggested by himself or his friends, he considered his future usefulness, and wished only for a moderate competency. While Mr. Jebb attended anatomical lectures at Cambridge, he continued to lecture in mathematics and natural philosophy." When "he finally left Cambridge, after a residence of twenty-two years, and came to London, he also gave lectures in the Greek Testament to two young gentlemen, while he proceeded in the study of physic, of which he received his diploma in March 1777." *Mem. of Jebb*, pp. 121, 122, 128.

† Michael Dodson, whom I well knew, chiefly in connexion with the Unitarian Book Society, of which he was for several years Treasurer, died 1799, aged 67, bequeathing 500*l.* to Dr. Priestley, and the same sum to Gilbert Wakefield. Among his learned biblical writings is a translation of Isaiah, with notes. He also wrote for the *Biog. Brit.* a life of that eminent judge, his uncle, Sir Michael Foster, and left some materials for a biography of Farmer. See M. R. XIII. 601—606, 735.

‡ "The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated." W. III. 447—540.

§ When the ministerial address was carried by 243 against 86 in the Commons, and by 97 against 28 in the Lords. See *Gordon*, III. 95, 96.

|| Sir W. Howe had entered Philadelphia Sept. 26, after various successful engagements, in one of which, among the wounded of the American army, was "the Marquis de la Fayette, who, at the age of 19, had left France, and offered his services to the Congress." *Ibid.* II. 508—518; *Amer. Ann.* II. 310—312.

it is over with Burgoyne,* and if so we shall hardly go on with the war.

I am very desirous to get my two metaphysical works out. If you can hasten Mr. Johnson, you would oblige me much.

Respects to Mrs. Lindsey.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Dec. 28, 1777.

IF I had not experienced your goodness on former occasions, I should be absolutely ashamed to write to you after so long a silence, and having had your letter so long before me; but really I am a very bad correspondent in general. I wish, however, very often that you were nearer to me, because, of all my acquaintance, I consider you as most likely to enter deeply into Hartley's theory, and contribute to the farther investigation of that important subject, and should like to converse with you about such matters. I am satisfied from what you say that you clearly understand his theory, which few do, and are apprized of the very extensive application of it. By this time you may observe the use that I have made of it in the business of criticism,‡ though it is very probable that you expected more than you found in it. It is a very delicate subject.

I have desired Mr. Johnson to send you two volumes that I have just published,§ a work which I expect will rather shock and offend many of my friends; but I have some idea that it will not much stagger *you*. When you have read it with care, be so good as to let me know freely what you think of it. Many cannot be reconciled to the doctrine of Necessity; but thus, if I mistake not, you have been long with me.||

* He had surrendered at Saratoga, Oct. 17, with his army, in number 5752, (including six members of Parliament,) besides 528 sick and wounded. *Ibid.* p. 321; *Gordon*, II. 572—578.

† Exeter.

‡ In the "Lectures on Oratory and Criticism." See *supra*, p. 201.

§ "Disquisitions," &c. See *supra*, p. 203.

|| Their friend Toulmin appears at this time to have been hardly "reconciled to the doctrine of Necessity;" perplexed with "the grand difficulty," (*supra*, p. 204, note *,) which alike presses with mighty, if not with

I think I shall have done some good, by tracing to their source the Athanasian and Arian hypotheses,* which, as far as I know, had not been done by former Socinian writers. That

equal force, on the Calvinist and the Necessarian, and indeed on every seriously reflecting mind; yet not prepared to admit the extraordinary solution. From "Taunton, Dec. 30, 1777," he thus writes to Mr. Bretland:

"I am rather surprised that my friend should suppose that his own high ideas of the great utility, excellence, and importance of the doctrine of necessity should supersede an endeavour to shew that it is unfairly and improperly made the basis of infidelity. The use to which it is thus applied, in my opinion, evidently proves that the doctrine may be held, without leaving those impressions you feel from it. Is it not of consequence then to inquire, that it should be made appear to possess an excellent tendency, instead of countenancing unbelief? However, perhaps this is now done to our hands.

"I refer to the very recent publication of Dr. Priestley on Matter and Spirit, and Necessity, which probably you, as well as myself, have received from the great and worthy author. The latter volume, on Necessity, appears to me to treat the subject as I wished; but, as it is an appendix to the former, I have only dipt into it, supposing that it will be read with greater advantage after the perusal of the preceding one. The dedication to Dr. Jebb appears to me truly excellent.

"As I profess to be a lover of truth, and am inquiring, as far as my time and engagements will allow, why, my dear Sir, should you conclude that our sentiments on this point will continue to differ through life? Am I an obstinate heretic? or is my mind incapable of admitting light and evidence? I really wish my good friend will tell me what answer he would give to a drunkard, or any other vicious character, whom he was tenderly admonishing, that should allege the plea of necessity to extenuate his guilt. But perhaps I shall rather offend by resuming this subject." Copy by Rev. B. Mardon, from the *Orig.* MS. Writing to Mr. Bretland the next day, "Dec. 31," Mr. Toulmin says,

"This day's post brought me the favour of a letter from Dr. Priestley. He informs me he has ventured to publish the volumes before-mentioned, against the advice of many of his friends; but he leaves the work to speak for itself, and thinks he has thrown great light on the Socinian controversy, by tracing it to its proper source in history. He judges that one may foresee, from the Life of Socinus, [*supra*, p. 152,] and other late works, that the Socinian tenets will gain ground. Mr. Lindsey's book, he says, made a great impression on several stanch Arians. Even Dr. Price owned to him that several texts appeared to him less favourable to his scheme than he had before thought them.

"He is also meditating a series of letters to Philosophical Unbelievers. This design originates with his lately reading the *Système de la Nature*, and other foreign writers of that class." *Ibid.* See W. III. 214; IV. vi. 382—389.

* See "Sequel," *Sect.* iv—vi.; W. III. 404—439.

history is itself of more force than any other single argument in support of the proper humanity of Christ. Almost every body smiles at my notion of matter.

I am about sending to the press some Observations on Education,* chiefly respecting the conduct of the mind, in which I have again made great use of the doctrine of Association. I shall take care to send you a copy when it is printed.

If I have not sinned past forgiveness, let me hear from you soon.†

FROM MR. JOHN HENDERSON.‡

DEAR SIR,

Pembroke College, Oxford.§

I HOPE you will not take it ill when your friend informs you that I have not seen him. I was from my rooms (for a few hours) when he came to seek me. I staid at home all the following day, but found no more of him. Had I known where he lodged in Oxford, I should have visited him. Excuse me then that I must take the other communication you proposed, and send this by post.

Of the anonymous letter from Bristol, which you mention, I know nothing. It was probably written by some one, I hope well-meaning, who wished to check your philosophic Disquisitions of Matter and Spirit. That such information should excite the curiosity, especially of one so incredulous, I cannot wonder. But such curiosity I neither blame nor neglect.

* See *supra*, p. 201.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ See *supra*, p. 235.

§ “Or at Hanham, near Bristol, when in that country.” There is no date; but the time and purpose of the letter will appear from the following conclusion of Dr. Priestley’s introduction:

“When I lived at Calne, and presently after the publication of my Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit, I received an anonymous letter from Bristol about some intercourse with spirits; and hearing that Miss Hannah More had said that the letter probably came from Mr. Henderson, I wrote to him about it; and as the letter was carried by a friend who was going to Oxford, I told Mr. Henderson that, if he could call up any spirit, my friend was willing to be disposed of as he should think proper for the purpose. In what manner I expressed myself I do not now recollect; but it is evident that Mr. Henderson did not consider me as very credulous on the subject.” *Selections*, p. 167. See *supra*, p. 237, note *.

That I may satisfy you, I will tell you, 1, Who I am; 2, Whether I believe those things; 3, Whether I be willing to demonstrate their truth sensibly; 4, What good ground that information had.

I. As to myself, I shall only write what I think pertinent to this purpose. I had a small school education. I loved reading and thought from my earliest years. Peculiarly I was attached to religious, and, though at first I knew not the term, metaphysic studies. These (both in the *authors* and *systems*, or courses of learning), having no teacher, meeting with none but such as slighted, blamed, pitied my turn of thinking, or only wondered at it—these I pursued not *regularly*, but as they occurred to a boy discountenanced, uninformed, with scattered intervals of scanty leisure, and a very few unselect, out-of-the-way books.

As one thought introduces another, so does a book. Both increased to me in time. So did some kind and degree of seeming knowledge. Opinions multiplied and varied; but doubts exceeded. Sceptical as those made me, they did me good; 1, In making me never positive; 2, Nor unwilling to change; 3, Nor a despiser of those who thought otherwise than I. I mention my being very doubtful, the rather because you will agree with me, that, when one thinks no certainty is to be found, one will be less nice in assenting to insufficient evidence. Perhaps I am an instance. I have nothing to add of myself, but to thank you for your kind attention to letters of mine, (some years ago,) for your hints, and the books you lent and gave to me. Do not you recollect it?

II. Do I believe those things? 1, I have no reason to think them absurd or impossible. 2, They are commonly asserted in all ages. 3, And generally believed. 4, I find myself more at ease in believing them; my notions are suitable. Thence, it may be on bad proof, I assent that there are such things. You will the less wonder at such a belief, when I add, that I not only assent to spirits, apparitions, magic, and witchcraft, but that I allow Behmen's philosophy, and Swedenborg's visions. Yea, I deny hardly any thing of that sort. So you will per-

ceive that I easily believe, and require not too much demonstration.

III. Whether I be willing to demonstrate their truth sensibly? 1, I do not know that I can give any such exhibition. 2, The faith itself is not interesting, nor have I the least wish to convince any. 3, My conscience is not clear that such acts are innocent. 4, They would not be, at least may not, demonstrations. A sensible man, when I had asked, "Would you be convinced if I shewed you a spirit?" answered, "No; I should grant any thing at the time, but afterwards I should think you had frightened me out of my senses, and then you could make me believe any nonsense."

IV. What good ground had that information? I will tell you all I know. I have asked Miss More. She says, had you asked her, she would have told you that she knew nothing of the matter. Many people have known that I studied astrology, geomancy, and magic, and was of an abstract mind. They surmised. Common things looked extraordinary. Little things were greater. I was reported a conjuror. I was teased to tell fortunes, raise spirits, and sometimes to cast out a devil. Some pretended to a graver curiosity, and asked me for a positive answer to, "Have you not seen and raised a spirit?" I always replied, "I will tell you any thing about them out of books, but as to my own experience I will not say." "Can you deny it?" I said, "I will not deny it." Thence they affirmed it abroad. To sum up all: 1, I believe. 2, I think I have reason. 3, No one was ever witness to any appearance with me. 4, I never told any one that ever I raised a spirit. 5, I will not deny it: I have said sometimes that I thought I had seen a spirit.

As, I take it, your main wish is to know, 1, If I believe such an exhibition possible? I do. 2, If I have done it? I never did say, nor mean to say, that I have; (but for some reason) I will not deny it. 3, If I can do it? I do not know that I can. 4, If I be willing to try? I had rather be excused.

I have now answered your letter as satisfactorily as I can. You see you need not be in any apprehensions for your philo-

sophy, on account of any experimental knowledge of mine. If I can say any thing more that is worth the while on this subject, or a better, I shall be glad of an epistle from you.

Farewell, I esteem you; and opinions I regard little. I am obliged by your friendly expressions in the letter. I wish you all good and success in doing it. I should have answered sooner, but for bad eyes, and the company of strangers.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.

DEAR SIR,

1777.

I AM much concerned to hear by Mr. Jervis that you have not yet received from me any copy of my “Disquisitions,” and Treatise on Necessity, which I ordered Mr. Johnson to send to you before they were published. Having heard before, that the first copy had not reached you, I ordered another to be sent. Perhaps by proper inquiry you may recover one or both the copies.

I am glad that my “Lectures on Criticism” gave you any pleasure; but, though I much approve of your hints for an improved edition, I fear I shall hardly be able to give the attention to it that will be necessary to execute them. Besides, I do not imagine that there will be much demand for the work, so as to require a new edition, at least soon.

I thank you for your hints respecting a new answer to Mr. Hume; but you who have suggested them are best able to pursue them, and I would seriously advise you to set about it. I should be happy to see what you write; and if I could give you any assistance then, I should do it with great pleasure.

The experiments of your friend on vision and hearing are very curious, and deserve to be particularly attended to. You will do well to take a regular account of all facts of this kind.

I should be very glad to see you and my other friends in the West, but it will not be in my power to have that satisfaction. You must contrive to spend a week with me at Calne, and

* *Selections*, III. 168—171; M. R. VII. 287—289.

there we shall have more leisure for conversation than we could have if I should come to Exeter.

I have not yet sent my Essay on Education to the press, but shall do it in a week or two. I am now busy in experiments, and hope this summer to write the last part of the Institutes. My Paraphrase and Notes on the Harmony of the Evangelists is in the hands of my friends, and will be printed some time this summer.

P. S. Both the second and third editions of the "History of Electricity" were much improved. The fourth is the same with the third.*

FROM REV. A. M. TOPLADY.

Knightsbridge, Jan. 20, 1778.

I AM much your debtor, Sir, for your late polite favour from Calne; but especially for the obliging present of your Disquisitions concerning Matter and Spirit, and of the Appendix concerning Necessity. I have read them with great attention; and, as you condescend to request my opinion of those ingenious pieces, you shall have it, with the most transparent unreserve.

I need not say any thing as to the article of Necessity, because you well know that I have the honour to coincide almost entirely with your own view of that great subject.† Permit me, however, to ask, *en passant*, in what part of any printed work of mine I "seem to think that the torments of hell will not be eternal"?‡ You yourself, dear Sir, I doubt not, will, on a calm review, be the first to condemn your own temerity, in having publicly advanced a conjecture totally unwarranted on my part; and I am equally disposed to believe that this will be the last liberty of the kind which you will venture to take, either with me, or with any other man. You must be sensible that not a word on the nature or the duration of future punishment ever past between you and me, either in writing or in personal converse; consequently, you must be entirely unacquainted with my ideas of that awful subject, and, as

* *Orig.* MS.

† See *supra*, p. 258.

‡ See "Illustrations," *ad fin.*, W. III. 537.

such, was totally unqualified to advance the insinuation of which I have such just reason to complain.*

* Calvin, as I have quoted (W. III. 534) his Institutes, L. iv. C. xv. S. x., could, even though a parent, reconcile himself to the belief that infants bring their damnation with them from their birth (*Infantes quoque ipsi suam secum damnationem à matris utero afferunt*). Yet, according to C. xvi. S. xvii., certainly some of that age will obtain salvation (*certe, ex ea ætate, omnino, aliqui servantur*).

Dr. Priestley's able and ingenious correspondent would readily perceive that before he could venture (*supra*, p. 259) to deny, with any plausibility, that "the notions of Calvin" are "gloomy," it would be necessary to interpolate the genuine text of Geneva from his own unauthorized and heretical version of Calvinism. Thus he *reads*, not merely that some infants would certainly be saved from the damnation universally inflicted by an infant's birth, but that "there can be no reasonable doubt entertained concerning the salvation of every young person."

A calculation follows, more merciful than any I have found among the theories of Calvin, (see W. III. 8, 9, *notes*,) or of his eminent disciple Edwards, or indeed in any Calvinistic scheme of theology: "Every young person," Mr. Toplady interprets, to include "about one-half of mankind," for such a proportion are supposed to "die in infancy." To these he adds "a very considerable number of the remaining half, who die in early childhood." He has also "the strongest reason to think" that "many millions of those who live to maturer years, in every successive generation, have their names in the book of life," while only "a very small portion of the human species falls under the decree of preterition."

I had occasion (W. III. 533) to quote a learned physician and divine, Lewis du Moulin, as "proving plainly from scripture evidence that not one in a hundred thousand, nay, probably not one in a million, from Adam down to our times, (1680,) shall be saved." Mr. Toplady, on the contrary, has mercifully diluted the bitter potion of Calvinism, dispensed at Geneva in the sixteenth century. Nor has he made the least reference to "the torments of hell," or to vindictive punishment, whether eternal or temporary, as the final destiny of "the few reprobate." Of these he would "resign the disposal implicitly to the will of that only King who can do no wrong."

From such premises how liable was Dr. Priestley to draw the gratifying conclusion, (for which he is here called to account in a style not a little dictatorial,) that his highly-gifted, seriously inquiring, and deeply-reflecting correspondent might at length "seem to think that the torments of hell will not be eternal." Thus had thought, and ably argued, from scriptural representations of the perfections of God, and of the frame and condition of man, White, Stonehouse, and other pious and learned Christians, while contemplating "the great eternal scheme, involving all," though, on every other point of theology, they were entirely Calvinistic. Mr. Toplady, however, was not fully prepared to take his station, at least publicly, among "the merciful doctors."

With regard to your "Disquisitions," &c., I would observe,

1. That I can subscribe to no more than one moiety of them. I still consider Materialism as equally absurd in itself, and Atheistical in its tendency.

But, 2, the perusal of your book gave me no surprise; because I have for a considerable time past viewed you as a secret Materialist, whose favourite principle, like the workings of a subterraneous fire, would at last break forth into open birth.

3. Nor has this publication lessened, in the smallest degree, my respect and esteem for its author. You have a right to think for yourself, and to publish the result of your thoughts to the world. If my own brother was of a different judgment as to this point, I should set him down for an enemy to the indefeasible prerogatives of human nature.

4. I revere and admire real probity wherever I see it. Artifice, duplicity, and disguise, I cannot away with. Transparency is, in my opinion, the first and the most valuable of all social virtues. Let a man's principles be black as hell, it matters not to me, so he have but integrity to appear exactly what he is. Give me the person whom I can hold up as I can a piece of crystal, and see through him. For this, among many other excellencies, I regard and admire Dr. Priestley.

5. I must acknowledge, Sir, that in the foregoing part of your "Disquisitions" you throw no small quantity of light upon the nature of matter at large. My apprehensions concerning visible substance are, in several important respects, corrected and improved by your masterly observations on that subject. I wish you had stopped at matter, which you evidently do understand, and better, perhaps, than any philosopher upon earth, and not meddled with spirit, whose acquaintance it is very plain you have not cultivated with equal assiduity.

6. Bishop Berkeley tells me that I am all spirit, without a single particle of matter belonging to me. Dr. Priestley, on the other hand, contends that I am all body, untenanted and unanimated by any immaterial substance within. Put these

two theories together, and what will be the product? That my sum total, and that of every other man, amounts to just nothing at all. I have neither body nor soul; I have no sort of existence whatever.

Here it may be alleged that the two systems cannot be thrown together, as being totally incompatible. I answer, why may not Bishop Berkeley's word go as far as Dr. Priestley's, and the doctor's as far as the bishop's? though, when all is done, the best way, in my opinion, is to cease from both, and to believe neither.

The arguments from absolute and universal Materialism drawn (or rather pretendedly drawn) from rational and philosophic sources, appear to me prodigiously forced, lame, and inconclusive; and, if we take Scripture into the account, not all the subtlety, nor all the violence of criticism, will ever be able to establish your system on that ground. What wretched work do you yourself make with those few texts which you venture to quote, and strive to obviate, wherein, *plena et primæ facie*, man is spoken of as a being compounded of matter and spirit!

Can you bear this plain dealing? If you can, give me your hand; and I most heartily wish that all who differ from you, and especially, that all who may commence your public antagonists, may treat you, as I ever desire to do, with the respect due to your virtues and your talents.*

* "It was his intention, had health been permitted, to employ his pen in endeavouring to refute opinions advanced by Dr. Priestley, in his book entitled 'Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit.' Though the doctor's theological principles and his were as opposite as it were possible to conceive, from the specimens of their correspondence we should have seen the truest respect given by Mr. Toplady to a great genius, and the moral integrity of the man." *Mem. of Toplady*, M. R. X. 346

Mr. Toplady once delivered "before a club a speech on the question, Whether unnecessary cruelty to the brute creation is not criminal, wherein he advocates the immortality of brutes." In the following passage of his speech he seems to have lost sight of Calvinism, in any version:

"Man is the centre, in which the generality of created good may be said to terminate. But then it is to me equally evident that the same adorable Being consulted, and does consult, the happiness of every individual creature to which he has given life." *Ibid.* pp. 346, 347.

How is your health? Beware of too close application, and of too intense exertions of mind. I, for my own part, can most heartily subscribe to these remarks of the Apocryphal writer:

“ The thoughts of mortal men are miserable, and our devices are but uncertain. For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things. Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find the things that are before us; but the things which are in heaven who hath searched out? And thy counsel who hath known, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above?”

May that Holy Spirit shining on his written word, and shining into our hearts, be a light to the paths of the much esteemed friend to whom I am writing, and the paths of his obliged and most obedient servant.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.

DEAR SIR,

April 1778.†

I BLAME myself for not having written to you of so long a time, but hope you will ascribe the neglect to such causes as often occasion interruptions in the correspondence of the best friends, who have no particular reasons for writing at one time more than another. There are few whose friendship I value

* *Works*, VI. 308—311. Mr. Toplady died Aug. 11, following. See *supra*, p. 257, note †. His ardour for intellectual pursuits he thus expresses in a letter, “ March 19, 1775,” addressed to his uncle:

“ Though I cannot entirely agree with you, in supposing that intense study has been the cause of my late indispositions, I must yet confess that the hill of science, like that of virtue, is, in some instances, climbed with labour; but when we get a little way up, the lovely prospects which open to the eye make infinite amends for the steepness of the ascent. In short, I am wedded to these pursuits, as a man stipulates to take his wife, viz. for better, for worse, until death us do part. My thirst for knowledge is literally inextinguishable; and if I thus drink myself into a superior world, I cannot help it, but must say, as some report Aristotle to have said, when he threw himself into the sea, (if it be true that he did so throw himself,) *qui non capere possum, me capiet.*” *Works*, p. 272.

† No place, but probably from Calne.

more than yours, and you will make me very happy by writing to me whenever you have leisure. I hope I shall not give you so much reason to complain of me for the future.

The political hemisphere is much more overcast since our last correspondence,* a war with France being almost universally expected,† and a peace with America very uncertain. I own, though connected with Lord Shelburne, I much approve of the Duke of Richmond's motion,‡ viz. to acknowledge the

* In Feb. 1776. See *supra*, p. 288.

† "A French squadron sailed from Toulon, April 13," with "Silas Deane, and the French minister to Congress, on board." *Gordon*, III. 112.

‡ Rejected by a great majority, though with a protest of 20 peers. The following letter, referring to this parliamentary proceeding, and designed to correct a too common misappropriation of merit, in the advocacy of American resistance to British oppression, I addressed "to the Editor of the Bristol Mirror," in 1828, while on a visit in that neighbourhood :

"SIR,

Stapleton, Sept. 24.

"I OBSERVE in your Paper of the 20th ult., a very interesting 'Extract from an Oration by Professor Everett.' Every communication to the public which serves to preserve and strengthen the connexion between two great countries, 'the Tyre and Carthage of a wider sphere,' cannot fail to produce the most favourable results. It is, however, especially due to those, like the learned Professor, whose talents are eminently qualified to give entertainment and instruction, to correct any inaccuracies into which they may have fallen.

"The Professor says, 'In that eventful struggle, which severed this mighty empire from the British crown, there was not heard, throughout our continent in arms, a voice which spoke louder for the rights of America than that of Burke or of Chatham.'

"As to Burke, for any thing I recollect, he uniformly and eloquently advocated 'the rights of America;' though he too soon discovered that his professed attachment to liberty savoured more of party than of principle. I refer to his 'Reflections on the Revolution in France;' his bitter quarrel with Fox, in the House of Commons; and his insulting language, from the press, against that Christian philanthropist, Dr. Price, the consistent and enlightened friend of America and of mankind.

"In his instance of Lord Chatham, the learned Professor was singularly unfortunate. It will, I believe, be found in the records of parliamentary proceedings during the revolutionary war, that his lordship's estimate of 'the rights of America' was such as the Professor must regard as very inadequate. Lord Chatham contended, indeed, against the taxation of America, except by the authority of her own assemblies, sanctioned by the crown, as represented by the governors; yet he maintained, with equal energy, the paramount authority of the British parliament to controul the external commercial relations of British America, declaring, in his expressive lan-

independence of America, as I should hope that, by that means, we might either avoid a war with France, or detach the Americans from their alliance, if not in time regain their friendship and commerce. But our councils seem to be infatuated, and some severe scourge, I am afraid, is preparing for us. Our only hope is in a wise and good Providence, which, according to my creed, appoints and directs all events for the best of purposes.

This reminds me of my late publication, which I am afraid has been very offensive to you, our sentiments on the subjects of it having always been very different;* and yet on some of

guage, that she should not be allowed even to use a nail which had not been forged in, and imported from, the mother country.

"But it was on the last day of Lord Chatham's public life, a day of which the pencil and the graver have perpetuated the remembrance, that the great orator and statesman proved himself peculiarly unworthy of Mr. Everett's distinguished eulogium. On the 7th of April, 1778, the Duke of Richmond moved an address to the king, recommending peace with America on the only condition then attainable, the acknowledgment of her independence. This the Earl of Shelburne opposed, declaring that thus 'the sun of Britain would be set for ever.' The Earl of Chatham also resisted the proposal, as the American historian, Gordon, says, 'with a strength of determination and a vehemence of speech which were peculiar.'

"I have now, I think, sufficiently shewn that the Earl of Chatham, though opposed to British taxation of unrepresented America, was yet a determined foe to her 'rights,' such as the learned Professor would, no doubt, describe them. For any thing which appears, Lord Chatham would have continued to deluge her fields with blood, to dispossess her of independence, that equitable termination of a sanguinary contest, in which, according to his own repeated declarations, Great Britain had proved herself the unfeeling aggressor.

"Should these representations ever meet the eye of Professor Everett, of whom I had once a slight personal knowledge in England, he will, I trust, in a new edition of his Oration, dislodge one at least of his British heroes from an eminence to which his pretensions are at best so equivocal. The time has indeed arrived when, undazzled by the splendour of a 'Chatham's eloquence,' we can 'stoop to truth,' and, reverencing the manly maxim *de mortuis nil nisi verum*, can impartially examine what are the claims to public admiration of even a Chatham's public character."

* In M. R. V. 474, there is no account of any publication by Mr. Rotheram, but I have found, in *N. A. Reg.*, (1781,) under that name, "An Essay on the Distinction between the Soul and Body of Man," and "a small tract," entitled, "The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity invalidated." See W. III. 216, note *.

the subjects my own sentiments are very different from what they used to be. I was an Arian till I went to Leeds,* and my Materialism is but of late standing,† though you see that I now consider the doctrine of the *soul* to have been imported into Christianity,‡ and to be the foundation of the capital corruptions of our religion.

Dr. Price and I are entering into a friendly discussion of the subject, and we propose to publish jointly in one volume. It has been very insensibly and unexpectedly that I have been drawn into this course of publication; but being engaged, I am determined to see it out, keeping my mind as free from prejudice as I can. The work has given much less alarm than was generally expected, and I have many respectable abettors.§

I have two other things in hand, which I flatter myself will

* See *supra*, pp. 69—71.

† See *supra*, pp. 202, 203.

‡ See W. III. 359—373.

§ Among whom Mr. Tayleur (*supra*, p. 215) may be partly included, from the following passages of his letter to Mr. Lindsey:

“Shrewsbury, Feb. 11, 1778. They who admit the true scriptural doctrine concerning death and the resurrection of the dead, and who attend to common appearances, [see W. III. 210,] would perhaps easily allow the probability of Dr. Priestley’s hypothesis with respect to the nature of man, did it not strike at the root of the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ. But till Ben Mordecai, [W. VII. 472,] and other fair inquirers, give up the doctrine of the pre-existence, Dr. P.’s hypothesis will, with great difficulty, make its way.

“As to philosophical necessity, I do not expect to see that subject cleared till learned men agree about the meaning of the words *will*, *volition*, *willing*, &c. Dr. P. [W. III. 457] commends so highly Collins’s tract, that I wonder he takes no notice of Dr. Clarke’s answer to it.

“I am too old to enter deeply into these disquisitions; but I shall read with pleasure any observations you may hereafter send me relative to what passes in the literary world on these topics. I shall be very glad to hear that you have done duty in your new room.

“I cannot conceive upon what grounds Dr. P. supposes, [*supra*, p. 254, *note*,] that the wicked shall not only partake of the resurrection, but also of eternal life. Many years ago I collected all the texts of the New Testament relative to eternal life and future punishments, from whence it appears to me that the scripture does most expressly threaten that death, corruption, perdition, everlasting destruction, perishing, not seeing, not having eternal life, shall be the final portion of the wicked.

“If the contrary opinion can be clearly proved from scripture, you may be sure I should be glad to be convinced; but this at present appears to me impracticable.” *Orig. MS.*

at least not offend you; an Essay on Education, especially as it respects the conduct of the mind; and the English Harmony, with an occasional paraphrase and notes. The former I send to the press to-morrow, and the latter is in the hands of Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Jebb.*

At present I am most engaged in collecting materials for my "History of the Corruptions of Christianity,"† which I find to be a work of great labour and difficulty. I am also pursuing my experiments, in which I have had considerable success. I have already materials for another volume, but I do not mean to continue the work on air, but to begin a new one on various branches of natural philosophy. Indeed, what I have done lately relates very much to what is generally called chemistry.

I sometimes flatter myself with the hopes of seeing you; for though we are at a great distance, your circumstances are easy, and I think you will hardly content yourself without sometimes visiting London, if not Bath. I should be particularly happy to see you at my own house, and we can say more in two or three days' conversation than in many years' correspondence.

If you favour me with a line soon (which I own is more than I deserve) I shall be obliged to you if you will mention the state of political opinions, and of trade, &c., in your part of the world.

P. S. My wife desires her respects to you.‡

* See *supra*, p. 300.

† See *supra*, p. 158, note ||.

‡ *Orig. MS.* Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, "May 14, 1778," says, "It is a great loss to us that Dr. Priestley is so little in London, though he repairs it a little by writing tolerably often. His Disquisitions, &c., still continue to sell, and are generally well received, much better than was expected. He has a treatise on Education just now put to the press, which will be a most useful work to the public and to posterity."

"Dr. Price told me yesterday that their amicable correspondence on the doctrine of Necessity was just concluded, and would soon go to the press by the consent of both. It was at the exhibition at Pallmall. He had come that moment from Mr. Milnes's, where, he told me, he had met with Mr. Burke"

Mr. Lindsey had now long abandoned his unworthy *Protestant* alarms, which I described, (*supra*, p. 98, note *,) and was, I believe, in full fellowship with Dr. Priestley on every question of civil or religious freedom. Thus, in the same letter, after saying he had been "to-day at the House of Commons," he adds, "I reckon the subject the House was upon of great

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, June 14, 1778.

I AM, indeed, very much obliged to you for the pains you have taken to make remarks on the Disquisitions, &c. They are very ingenious, and will be useful to me when I revise the work,* which I shall do soon, carefully, in order to insert any correction that may occur to me in my controversy with Dr. Price on the subject. You will excuse my not entering into particulars in a letter, as I have not leisure for it.

To the controversy with Dr. Price I shall subjoin letters to those of my antagonists that have appeared since the publication of my work. In this work I hope you will find some of your difficulties cleared up, as far as is necessary, for my purpose. If any copies of the work be in the hands of your friends, I wish you would inquire whether they have the half sheet of Illustrations,† and if they be deficient, give me notice of it.

Having room, I inclose a few copies of “The History of a Calumny.”‡

importance, and likely to have most useful, extensive consequences. It was a motion made by Sir George Savile, and seconded by Mr. Dunning, for leave to bring in a bill for relief of the Roman Catholics in respect to their worship, to remove the penal laws against their priests for officiating in it, and to give them the same security for the enjoyment and disposal of their property which belongs to good subjects of a state. It passed, *nem. con.* You would have been delighted with the feeling of humanity and justice that Sir George spoke with, and the strong sense and legal precision with which he was followed by Mr. Dunning” *Orig. MS.* See W. XXII. 499, 512.

* On this acknowledgment Mr. Bretland has written in the original letter: “This contains a proof of the doctor’s humility and readiness to receive hints for the improvement of any of his works, from persons of very inferior understanding and attainments.”

† “Additional Illustrations.” See W. III. 210.

‡ *Orig. MS.* “The History of a Calumny,” was, I apprehend, what first appeared in a letter, by Dr. Priestley, from “Leeds,” inserted in the *St. James’s Chronicle*, “Jan. 21, 1773.” He reprinted it, 1786, in an appendix to his “Letters to Dr. Horsley, Part iii.” See W. XVIII. 558

Mr. Lindsey writes to Mr. Turner, “Oct. 4, 1778. The *amica collatio*, betwixt Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley, is just finished, after many rejoinders and replies. I think it will be commended as a sample of two excellent and learned persons, differing without the least degree of displeasure at each other, on a point esteemed of the first importance.” *Orig. MS.*

An interval of several months now, unfortunately, occurs in the correspondence; for which the only substitutes, in my possession, are two letters from Mr. Lindsey. In one, written to Mr. Turner, are several passages on the occupations of Dr. Priestley during this period. The earlier letter to Mr. Shore, and by him communicated to Mr. Turner, relates what Mr. Lindsey had witnessed in the House of Commons on the discussion of a subject in which Dr. Priestley, on several occasions, appears to have discovered a lively interest.* It was now agitated on a renewed application of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers, for parliamentary relief from the unjust and rigorous obligation, on preachers and schoolmasters, as the price of civil protection, to subscribe the articles of the Church of England.†

London, April 21, 1779.

Yesterday was a day of good debate. Lord North opened with the proposal of a test, that the minister, &c., should acknowledge himself a Christian and Protestant, and declare that the Holy Scriptures, commonly received by Protestant churches, contained a revelation of the whole will of God; and that he would take them for the rule of his doctrine and practice. This is not exactly as it was worded, but to this effect.

For the bill, as it was, without a test, Sir Henry Hoghton, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Charles Fox, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Charles Turner, Lord John Cavendish, Sir William Meredith, and Mr. Goodricke, were the speakers. Sir H. Hoghton endeavoured to shew that the imposition of such a test was without the magistrate's province.

Mr. Wilkes was well heard in his defence of the most unlimited toleration, which he enlivened with many pleasant and witty remarks on Athanasius, and the thirty-nine articles. Mr. Dunning was full of excellent close reasoning, but was feeble in his voice, and not so animated and pointed as I have heard

* See *supra*, pp. 219, 224, 229, 233.

† See *supra*, pp. 162—165.

him. Mr. Fox excelled all men but himself, in depth, force, and clearness of argument, and demonstrated the utter wrongness of the civil magistrate requiring any test whatever, as a condition of enjoying so natural and unalienable a right as that of worshipping God according to a man's own conscience.* The rest spoke very well.

On the other side, after Lord North, were a Mr. Crofts, member for the University of Cambridge, who said a few words, Mr. Powys, member for Northamptonshire, Mr. Burke, Sir Adam Ferguson, the Lord Advocate of Scotland.

Mr. Burke spoke admirably well, kept closer to his point, and with fewer digressions, than I ever knew him, made use of a great deal of plausible reasoning, not without some artifice, to shew the unaccountable peevishness and perverseness of men's refusing to subscribe what they did believe; never attending to the just objection some minds might make to do it at the bidding of the civil magistrate. He also dwelt long, and with more reason, on the inconsistency of objecting to subscribe the Scriptures, at the command of the magistrate, and yet making no objection to the declaration against Popery; but he dwelt upon it, as an orator, to make the most of it; not considering that it is generally looked upon in a civil light. However, as it was, I am persuaded that this gentleman gave a turn to the House, and the test is to be ascribed to him; not that I think he did not speak his own sentiments sincerely,† but with all his knowledge and parts, he presumes he knows more than he does.

The numbers, for the test 88, against it 58. When the matter is to be brought on again I have not heard, nor what

* See *supra*, pp. 145, 146 *note*.

† "I am not so candid," says Mr. Shore, "as Mr. Lindsey appears to be; for it is hard to believe a man of Mr. Burke's distinguished abilities can seriously think that the imposition of any religious subscription, even that to the Scriptures, can add security to the state, or promote the interests and do honour to genuine Christianity. If not, what solid argument can be made use of in favour of such a test? If Mr. Burke be sincere, he is a striking instance of the strength of early prejudice. He is certainly a man of very shining parts and eminent acquirements; but I have frequently had reason to doubt his judgment, always in religious, and often in civil, debates." *Orig. MS.*

farther steps are to be taken. The Cavendishes all stayed, and divided against the test. Sir George Savile was not returned to town from his regiment.

London, July 22, 1779.

Dr. Priestley's English Harmony is printing here very briskly. I had a long letter from him a few days ago, upon his return from Exeter, where, upon being solicited to it, he had been joined in an ordination of Mr. Jervis's brother with Dr. Kippis and Mr. Hogg.* I believe, also, I ought to add Sir Harry Trelawny,† who begun the service; at which latter circumstance, also, I much rejoice, as it shews that that deserving young baronet is quite out of the hands of the Methodists.

* See *supra*, p. 89, note §; W. XV. 82.

† Who had "preached at Exeter, Sept. 9, 1778, before the Assembly of the United Dissenting Clergy of Devon and Cornwall," as "minister of the Presbyterian church of West Looe," and again, "May 26, 1779, at Taunton." See *Mon. Rev.* LX. 79; LXI. 320.

Sir Harry, a descendant of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester, had been distinguished at Christ Church, Oxford, for his exemplary deportment. It was expected that he would join the Calvinistic Episcopal clergy; when, to their surprise and disappointment, he declared for Nonconformity, convinced, as it was then understood, by Mr. Towgood's "Letters to a Dissenting Gentleman."

The young baronet was ordained at Southampton, "April 22, 1777," by Independent Calvinistic ministers. In his "Confession of Faith," I recollect, when exposing the defective theological education of students for the Christian ministry, he complains that "the triune God, the God of the Bible, is rejected by these heathen-taught gentlemen." Yet what description of Deity can be more opposed to the uniform phraseology "of the Bible," or more accordant with "heathen" diction than "the triune God"? See "The Ordination of the Rev. Sir Harry Trelawny, Bart. and A. B., to the Pastoral Office, in the Church of West Looe, Cornwall." *Mon. Rev.* LVII. 335.

Crowded congregations now attended Sir Harry's preaching in the metropolis; attracted by rank, the reputation of opulence, an agreeable person, and (to my young experience) a highly-impressive pulpit-eloquence. At the Tabernacle I heard one of his earliest discourses, and in Essex Street chapel nearly, if not the last he ever preached as a Nonconformist; and in which he controverted the Calvinistic views of the Christian salvation, from the declaration of the Apostle James, that "by works a man is justified, and not by faith only."

Thus, after a very short sojourn among Protestant Dissenters, Sir Harry Trelawny exchanged their "pretended holy orders" for episcopal ordination, and became, I believe, a prebendary in the Cathedral of Exeter, though he has, since, seldom, if ever, attracted public notice.

Dr. Priestley composed his sermon for the occasion here in the spring, and preached it in our chapel; one of the best and most instructive I ever heard, and many others also bore the same testimony to it: the subject, the parable of the sower.* It was, apparently, preached with equal acceptance at Exeter, and there was a very hearty request afterwards to publish it, as also Dr. Kippis's charge, and Mr. Hogg's address, on the subject of ordination.

"Among the rest, Mr. Towgood† signed the request," (says the doctor, whose words I transcribe,) "but the next day he

* See W. XV. 87.

† Rev. Micaiah Towgood, (*supra*, p. 89, note §,) occupied the station of a Christian minister during sixty years, with exemplary diligence and deserved reputation. He died, 1792, aged 91, "leaving," says his colleague and biographer, "no good man his enemy, and attended with sincere and extensive regret."

Mr. Towgood rejected "the doctrine of the Trinity, without ever approaching to Socinianism. He conceived of Jesus Christ, as the very first being called into existence, by whom God made the worlds, and frequently appeared under the Jewish dispensations." Hence "he concluded him to be a proper object of worship;" agreeing on this point with Socinus, though differing with Dr. Price, and most modern Arians. Such "devotional addresses" he offered "in his private and family worship," but "very seldom, if ever, in public, as many of the Society considered all worship of Christ as improper."

As to the influence of the death of Christ on human salvation, Mr. Towgood describes "the sufferings of the Mediator as the manner, or the medium, in which God was pleased to shew himself propitious. He chose to dispense his pardons only by the hands, and as the reward of the meritorious sufferings, of one of the human race."

With this opinion Mr. Towgood did not connect "the doctrine of original sin." To use his own language, he could not "suppose the Deity to be angry, even to wrath, with a new-born infant; not only charging it with, but dreadfully punishing upon it, a crime committed 5000 years before it came into being; and imputing to it a fault of which it never was, nor could be guilty." See "Life and Writings of the Rev. Micaiah Towgood, by James Manning," (1792,) pp. 89, 133, 145.

The following passage of a "letter written about the year 1779," by Mr. Towgood, evidently refers to this interview:

"I had never before the pleasure of seeing Dr. Priestley, and am glad to see a head filled with so much knowledge, connected with a heart adorned with such apparent modesty and benevolence. From his apparent modesty, one would not suspect him to be so bold an adventurer in the polemic parts of divinity. As to the materiality of the soul, its sleep between death and

wrote me a letter, civil enough in terms, but desiring I would allow him to revoke his concurrence in the request, as he imagined the sermon was intended to support the doctrine of necessity. It is supposed that Mr. Cornish,* who had expressed some dislike of the sermon, had been with him. In the same letter he desired me to preach a plain, practical sermon at his place, where he had engaged me for Sunday morning. Dr. Kippis, as well as myself, thought it very odd and improper that I should now oblige him. I therefore, after shewing his mistake of my sermon, declined preaching for him at all. This I found made him very uneasy, and he and the heads of the congregation requesting that I should give them an evening lecture, I consented, and preached my sermon on Habitual Devotion, which, I believe, gave much satisfaction to many who had before thought very ill of me."

I thought you would be pleased with this little history, as perhaps you may not hear from our excellent friend so particularly on the occasion. He tells me afterwards that he had been advised to print his sermon alone, and had accordingly sent it to the press, which you will be glad to learn, as you will now also have an opportunity of seeing it. It strikes at the root of all fanaticism in religion, methodism, &c., &c. I was highly pleased to find that Sir H. Trelawny liked the sermon, and pressed the preacher very much to go with him into Cornwall† for a week.

the resurrection, the pre-existence of the logos, the liberty of moral agents, &c., I totally differ from him.

"He is rather too bold a partizan in the republic of literature, and though we must allow a little eccentricity to so uncommon a genius, yet I wish he may not lessen the usefulness of his publications by launching too far into the regions of paradox and mysticism. But, whereunto we have attained, let us mind the one grand point of a righteous and a holy life, trusting that in all doubtful speculations, God will, in the proper time, lead us into all useful and necessary truth." *Ibid.* 128, 129.

* Rev. Joseph Cornish died, 1823, aged 72, at Colyton, where he had been minister 51 years. This excellent man left an interesting *auto-biography*, for which see M. R. XVIII. 617—623. See also *ibid.* XV. 726; XVI. 392.

† Where the late Mr. Howe was then his "domestic chaplain and assistant;" and "notwithstanding the change which took place in Sir H. Tre-

My wife joins with me in due and cordial respects to you and Mrs. Turner, and every friendly wish for your two sons; of the eldest of whom I have great hopes, both of his eminence in virtue and learning. Indeed, the latter without the former is often worse than nothing.

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Aug. 4, 1779.

I HOPE you will never attribute my neglect of writing to any want of friendship or esteem, but to what it is really owing to, viz. having nothing very important to communicate, and a variety of engagements, not always so agreeable as writing to my friends would be.

Mr. Scholefield† and his sister have lately spent ten days with us, and made us very happy. If you could do the same, we could talk over a thousand things; and if you have any taste for my philosophical pursuits, it would be in my power to amuse you in that way.

I am as busy, and, I think, as successful as ever I have been in my experiments, especially on the influence of light in the production of pure air from substances of all kinds, especially vegetable and animal, in water; but the particulars are too minute for a letter. It is a continuation of a process of which you will see the beginning in my last volume. I have also observed a wonderfully vigorous vegetation of some kinds of plants in inflammable air, which they devour in great quantities.

With this I send you a sermon, which I composed to be delivered at an ordination near Exeter. Dr. Kippis gave the charge. They would both of them have been printed together, had not some of the ministers thought it savoured of the doctrine of necessity, on which account I wrote the Preface.‡ I shall be very glad to hear from you, and hope to be a better

lawny's religious sentiments and connexions, on his conforming to the Established Church, he ever retained for Mr. Howe, and expressed towards him, the highest esteem and friendship." See M. R. XV. 717, 718; XVI. 53.

* "Kendal free Wycombe."

† Of Birmingham. See *supra*, p. 26, *ad fin.*

‡ See W. XV. 84—86.

correspondent in future. I have no news to send you, but that on Friday last the fleet* was still in sight of Plymouth. We are full of expectation.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Aug. 5, 1779.

I HAVE printed the sermon that I delivered at the ordination, but without any mention of that service, on account of the request for its publication not being unanimous; and because it was thought to savour of the doctrine of necessity, I wrote the preface that you see prefixed to it.

I was very happy during the short stay I made with you; but, for the sake of conversation, I had rather have you by my own fire-side.

I am at present chiefly busy about my experiments, having no less a personage than the Sun at work for me, though of late he has not minded his business so closely as I wished him to have done.

I have just finished a letter to the Bishop of Ossory,† in defence of the principles of my Harmony.

I have just received Mr. Palmer's answer to my Treatise on Necessity,‡ but I have not had time to look into it. I wish I could engage somebody to read and answer these things for me.

I beg my compliments to your worthy father and mother, and also to Mr. Hogg, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Manning, and my other friends in Exeter, and to Mr. Jervis§ and Mr. Bartlett, when you see them.

TO REV. R. SCHOLEFIELD.

DEAR FRIEND,

Calne, Sept. 14, 1779.

HAVING brought the experiments, the beginning of which I had the pleasure of shewing you, to a pretty satisfactory

* The combined fleet of France and Spain.

† In consequence of his "Observations on our Lord's Character," 2nd ed. p. 411. See W. XX. 136, 222, 224, *note* †.

‡ See W. IV. 167, *note* *.

§ "Rev. John Jervis, F. L. S.," of Lympton, where, at his decease, 1820, "aged 68," he had been minister 47 years. M. R. XV. 680.

conclusion, I fancy it will be agreeable to you to be acquainted with the result.

The green matter that you saw producing the pure air, I found to be a vegetable substance, the seeds of which must be invisible in the atmosphere: for when the communication with the air was cut off, it was never produced. On this I tried other plants that grew wholly in water, and I find that they all, without exception, yield the same pure air, and some of them much more copiously; so that I conclude that all plants do, in fact, the same; imbibing air in an impure state, and emitting it, as excrementitious to them, in a dephlogisticated state; and the reasons why my mint, &c.,* did not always answer, was, that they were not always healthy, in a confined state; whereas these water-plants are as much at their ease in my jars as in the open pond.

That it is the air they extract from the water that is their immediate pabulum, I found by this experiment. In all cases I observed that the quantity of air bore a certain proportion to the contents of the jar, in general about a tenth. A quantity of water plants having yielded this proportion of air, which then began to be diminished, and continued to be so, three days, I put fresh water, of the same kind, to the plants, and they were almost instantly covered with bubbles of air, and in a few hours I collected near an ounce measure.

I have many experiments to make in the prosecution of this business, but I think they fully establish, extend, and explain, what I first discovered, of the purification of the atmosphere by vegetation.

If you could do it conveniently, I wish you would acquaint Mr. Keir† with these particulars, some of which he knows already; but not all. I have done a good deal more since you were here, but they would not interest you, and therefore I do not recite them.

If you should see Mr. Keir, tell him I shall be much

* See *supra*, pp. 148 *note*, 176, 177.

† Of West Bromwich. See *infra*. He presided at the public dinner, July, 1791. See W. XIX. 548. Mr. Keir published, the same year, the *Life* of his friend Thomas Day.

obliged to him, if, when he writes to me next, he will inform me what is the best and easiest test of the presence of nitrous acid in vitriolic.

I am now a widower, my wife being gone to London with my daughter, who will go from thence to Leeds, in her return from whence she will, I hope, have the pleasure to give you a call at Birmingham. This will be some time the next summer, for we hardly expect her home again in less than a year.

The tools you were so obliging as to send me I find exceedingly convenient. I shall get Dr. Withering's book,* and then, with this microscope, I shall be furnished for a botanist. But oral instruction would do much more for me. However, another summer I do propose to take some pains with this business. I am at this time exceedingly at a loss for the names of my water plants.

I hope you have received the sermon I sent you by the post. My best respects to Miss Scholefield.†

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.‡

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Oct. 27, 1779.

I THANK you, in the first place, for the answer you procured me to the queries I sent you, and doubt not that they will be satisfactory to my friend. I also think myself greatly obliged to you for the care of my sermons, and the trouble I am sorry to find you had with them. You need not send me the money till Sir Harry comes, which, according to a letter I had from him to-day, will be in a month or six weeks. As to the remaining copies, put them, if you please, into the hands of the bookseller you mentioned. But I fancy all have been sold that will be sold in your neighbourhood.

* "A Botanical Arrangement of all the Vegetables naturally growing in Great Britain, 2 Vols. Svo. 1770," in which see the Memoir prefixed. Dr. Withering had latterly resided at Fairhill, on the site of Dr. Priestley's house, demolished in 1791. He died, 1799, aged 58. See *infra*.

† *Orig.* MS., in the collection of *autographs* of the late Mr. Samuel Parkes. See *supra*, p. 3.

‡ Exeter.

I am glad you approve the sentiment of the sermon. It is the only ground on which we can combat the doctrine of sudden and late conversion, &c. I should like to know who it was that preached against it. In my Letters to an Unbeliever, I have begun, as you wished me, with explaining the nature of reasoning, &c.,* but perhaps not so largely as you wish. It is all on the principle of the association of ideas. Mr. Locke's doctrine, of the coincidence of ideas, will not do for all cases. Some of my friends who have seen the letters think them too metaphysical, and do not advise me to publish them, at least for the present. They are now in the hands of Dr. Price. You are so much out of the way, or there is nobody into whose hands I could more wish to put a thing of this kind than yours.

I have the piece of *Philaletes* R., but I have not yet read it. I shall like to see your remarks upon it. I shall hardly take any farther notice of any antagonists, except, perhaps, a very short one in a future edition of the "Disquisitions."

I am perfectly satisfied with what you have done with respect to the *Calumny*.† It appeared to you in a different light when I saw you.

I shall be very happy to hear from you whenever you have leisure, and inclose a cover for that purpose. Do not direct to me under cover to Lord Shelburne, except in London.

My best respects to your good father and mother.‡

TO REV. N. CAPPE.§

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Nov. 8, 1779.

I THINK myself much obliged to you for your short and friendly letter about the conclusion of my sermon; but Dr. Price, who was with me at the time that I received your letter, thinking it was not worth while to alter it, I let it pass. It will hardly be imagined that I meant to falsify the text, as I distinguished the addition by a different character,|| though I might have done it more effectually.

* See W. IV. 326.
§ York.

† See *supra*, p. 317.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

|| See W. XV. 100.

I inclose a spare copy of my Letter to the Bishop of Ossory, which will be inserted in the English Harmony, now printed off. On this subject, you and I entirely differ, and as you did not see any weight in my former arguments, I cannot expect that you will see any more force in the circumstances mentioned in this letter.

I have printed an Answer to Mr. Palmer on Necessity, of which I have desired Mr. Lindsey to send you a copy soon. You will not think it worth my while to take any notice of his work; but it gave me an opportunity of adding some new illustrations of the argument, which I hope you will not dislike.

I shall send you, either now or soon, a queer letter, with the York post mark upon it, received seven or eight months ago, the postage of which was near four shillings. I took no notice of it. You need not return it. I send it to *you*, because it is possible, though barely so, that you may have some guess from what quarter it comes.

I have been tolerably successful in the prosecution of my experiments, and shall probably make another publication in the course of the next summer.

The reading of Mr. Hume has led me to write a series of "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever." The first part, on the subject of natural religion, I have finished; but Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Jebb think them too metaphysical, and advise me not to publish them. They are now in Dr. Price's hands.

I shall be very glad to hear from you at your leisure.

P. S. We are all anxious here about the event of the probable meeting of the English and the combined fleet.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Calne, Dec. 12, 1779.

IT is not my part, who am so bad a correspondent myself, to complain of you. I shall always be happy to hear from you whenever you shall be at leisure to give me a line.

I am flattered with your approbation of the sermon I sent

* *Orig. MS.*, obligingly communicated, 1830, by Mr. Cappe's daughters.

† "Kendal. Free, J. Barré."

you, and especially as, to my surprise, I find it is much censured: the notion of particular and secret divine influences being a very favourite opinion of many who are not bigots. I am satisfied, however, that it is ill founded, and that it cannot be maintained without countenancing much mischievous delusion.

As you may not otherwise see it soon, I trouble you with my Letter to Mr. Palmer. He is, I believe, an acquaintance of yours, as well as mine, and on that account I presume you will have some curiosity to see what passes between us.

I have made considerable progress in my experiments, and intend to publish another volume next summer. I soon discovered that the "green matter" I speak of in my last volume is a vegetable substance, and that all other water plants do the same, converting the impure air contained in the water into pure air, and therefore I conclude that all plants do the same in the light; but the particulars are too many for a letter. Dr. Ingenhouz has discovered the same thing of the leaves of plants, even separated from the tree.

I am glad to hear your account of the use of water impregnated with fixed air. For my own part, I attempt nothing in the medical way.

You say, very truly, that the state of our national affairs will probably present little agreeable this winter. This new business of Ireland is not much less threatening than that of America. As the people of Ireland have arms in their hands, they certainly may, if they be united, command their own terms. We shall see how they receive Lord North's propositions.

My wife's best respects to you.*

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR,

Passy, Feb. 8, 1780.

YOUR kind letter of September 27th came to hand but very lately, the bearer having staid long in Holland.

I always rejoice to hear of your being still employed in ex-

perimental researches into nature, and of the success you meet with. The rapid progress *true* science now makes, occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born so soon. It is impossible to imagine the height to which may be carried, in a thousand years, the power of man over matter. We may, perhaps, learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labour and double its produce: all diseases may by sure means be prevented or cured, (not excepting even that of old age,) and our lives lengthened at pleasure, even beyond the antediluvian standard. O that moral science were in as fair a way of improvement, that men would cease to be wolves to one another, and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity!

I am glad my little paper on the *Aurora Borealis* pleased. If it should occasion farther inquiry, and so produce a better hypothesis, it will not be wholly useless.

I have considered the situation of that person* very attentively. I think that, with a little help from the *Moral Algebra*,† he might form a better judgment than any other person can form for him. But since my opinion seems to be desired, I give it for continuing to the end of the term, under all the present disagreeable circumstances: the connexion will then die a natural death. No reason will be expected to be given for the separation, and of course no offence taken at reasons given; the friendship may still subsist, and in some other way be useful. The time diminishes daily, and is usefully employed. All human situations have their inconveniences; we *feel* those that we find in the present, and we neither *feel* nor *see* those that exist in another. Hence we make frequent and troublesome changes without amendment, and often for the worse.

In my youth I was passenger in a little sloop, descending the river Delaware. There being no wind, we were obliged, when the ebb was spent, to cast anchor, and wait for the next. The

* Dr. Priestley, on Lord Shelburne's expression of a desire to dissolve their connexion. See *supra*, pp. 206, 207.

† See *supra*, p. 183.

heat of the sun on the vessel was excessive, the company strangers to me, and not very agreeable. Near the river side I saw what I took to be a pleasant green meadow, in the middle of which was a large shady tree, where it struck my fancy I could sit and read, (having a book in my pocket,) and pass the time agreeably till the tide turned; I therefore prevailed with the captain to put me ashore. Being landed, I found the greatest part of my meadow was really a marsh, in crossing which, to come at my tree, I was up to my knees in mire: and I had not placed myself under its shade five minutes before the muskitoes in swarms found me out, attacked my legs, hands, and face, and made my reading and my rest impossible; so that I returned to the beach, and called for the boat to come and take me on board again, where I was obliged to bear the heat I had strove to quit, and also the laugh of the company. Similar cases in the affairs of life have since frequently fallen under my observation.

I have had thoughts of a college for him in America;* I know no one who might be more useful to the public in the institution of youth. But there are possible unpleasantnesses in that situation: it cannot be obtained but by a too hazardous voyage at this time for a family: and the time for experiments would be all otherwise engaged.†

TO REV. WM. ASHDOWNE.‡

REV. SIR,

Calne, Feb. 20, 1780.

I HAVE deferred, you will naturally think, too long to acknowledge the receipt of the tract you were so obliging as to send me, but I did not choose to do it till I had given myself time to read it with the care and attention that it deserved.

I hardly remember ever to have read any thing more perfectly satisfactory to me. The subject is of the greatest importance, and I think it very fully and ably handed. You and

* See Dr. Priestley's anticipation, *supra*, p. 175.

† *Mem. of Franklin*, II. 25; M. R. XII. 14.

‡ Dover, where he carried on a considerable manufactory. In very early life I was well acquainted with Mr. Ashdowne and his respectable character.

I have the same idea concerning supernatural influence, and of the bad use that has been made of the popular doctrine on that subject; but you have taken much more pains, and have been much more successful in the investigation of the sense of scripture.

I very much wish that your pamphlet was properly made public, and not confined, as it seems to be at present, to private use. I cannot help thinking that much good would arise from it. Few of those who really want light on the subject will look into any thing that I write; but a person whose name is not obnoxious, seriously discussing the point as a purely scriptural inquiry, would probably be better heard.

I am sorry that I cannot convey this letter to you without expense any farther than to London, under cover to Mr. Johnson, my bookseller, who transmitted your pamphlet to me.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Calne, April 2, 1780.

I AM really concerned that by my long silence I should seem to neglect you, and not to place a proper value on your friendship, of which you are always giving me the most flattering marks; but partly illness, partly hurry of employment, and partly an expectation of seeing you at Calne, given me by your friends at Bristol, as well as yourself, have prevented my writing to you as I had intended.

I have received the 5*l.* 8*s.* which you have been so obliging as to get for the sermons, with which you must have had a great deal of trouble. I shall be obliged to you, if you or Mr. Tucker will keep the rest a while longer, as they are not wanted any where else; or if you think they will do any good, I wish you to dispose of them by gift, as you may think proper yourself. I do not wish to see any of them again.

In a few days after this I hope you will receive a copy of

* *Orig.* MS., obligingly communicated by Mr. Ashdowne's son, with several letters of later date, which will appear in the correspondence.

† Exeter.

my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," and another which you will be pleased to send with my compliments to Sir Harry Trelawny. I shall write to Mr. Cruttwell to-night to send them the first opportunity, by which means you will get them sooner than I shall see a perfect copy myself. On Wednesday next I expect to be in London, and the copies are to be sent to me thither. I hope I have nearly hit your idea in the first letter. When you have read the whole, I shall be glad to hear from you, and I shall thank you for any hints respecting the continuation of the work.

You may perhaps have seen my Letter to Mr. Palmer. He has replied, and I have sent to the press a second letter to him; and as it is not a long one, I shall expect it will be finished the next week. He was very angry, as Dr. Price informed me, and thought I used him very roughly in the first letter; and as there is something rather peevish in his reply, he will probably complain more of the second letter, though I do not mean to be uncivil towards him.

Mr. Johnson tells me that my *Disquisitions* are almost all sold; but whether it will be worth while to print a new edition of it I cannot tell. If I do reprint it, I shall hardly do any thing more than incorporate the *Illustrations* with it, for I have not looked it over since it was published. I have not yet read *Philalethes* R., or Barton's posthumous piece, or indeed any thing that has been written in answer to me, and cannot, unless I be very much urged, resume the consideration of the subject.

Sir Harry called at Calne in his return from London; but as I had no notice of it, I was not at home, and I only spoke to him as our carriages passed each other. He said he should pay me a visit after my return from London, which I expect will be in about six weeks; and I shall take it for granted that I shall see you at the same time. But I would not have *your* visit to depend upon *his*, which I consider as very uncertain, he has disappointed me so often. On many accounts I wish to spend some leisure time with you, and be sure you give me not less than a week, if possible.

As I shall soon be in London, I wish you would write to me under a cover, directed to the Earl of Shelburne, London.

My best respects to your worthy father and mother.*

TO REV. R. SCHOLEFIELD.†

DEAR FRIEND,

London, June 1, 1780.

I WAS very much affected by your letter, having had no suspicion of your being in so poor a state of health. About the time that I received your letter, I fancy that you would receive mine, inclosing one to Mr. Palmer.‡ Bath was then supplied; but I have mentioned his name to Mr. Vaughan, one of the congregation at Walthamstow, near London, who says that if he comes to London he shall be glad to give the people an opportunity of hearing him. They have a morning preacher, but no pastor, the salary about 70*l.* per annum, and the congregation a mixed one, but one to which Mr. Farmer and Mr. Radcliffe gave great satisfaction.§

* *Orig.* MS.

† "Birmingham."

‡ Rev. John Palmer, late of Macclesfield, now of Birmingham, where he died, 1778, aged 46. See *Theol. Repos.* VI. 223; W. XIX. 566; XX. 512.

§ Of Mr. Radcliffe see the references, *supra*, p. 215, note ||. Mr. Farmer, who died, 1787, aged 72, has been thus described as a preacher, ("from frequent hearing of him,") by his intimate friend Dr. Kippis:

"His sermons were rational, spiritual, evangelical, and not unfrequently pathetic. Mr. Farmer had an admirable talent, without trimming, of pleasing persons of very different sentiments. When he was speaking of the doctrines of the gospel, there was a swell in his language that looked as if he was rising to a greater degree of orthodoxy in expression than some persons might approve, but it never came to that point. What he said was always consistent with the most liberal sentiments in matters of religion."

Mr. Urwicke, in his "Funeral Sermon for Mr. Farmer," says, that "his discourses were peculiarly ornamented and enriched with criticisms for the explanation of difficult passages of scripture, or the farther illustration of others," while, "through all his public services, there was a most happy variety of thought and expression, as well as a constant flow of lively and humble devotion. Every one saw that he felt the sentiments which he uttered; and his attentive hearers happily experienced that he conveyed to them his own feelings." *Biog. Brit.* V. 680, 681. See M. R. VII. 369, 558; XIII. 489, 561.

I write now to apprise you that I expect to pay you a short visit on Monday or Tuesday next. My brother-in-law, Mr. Wilkinson, is here, and going to Birmingham, and presses me much to go with him, as travelling is recommended to me for a bilious disorder, by which I have lately suffered much, and am but imperfectly recovered. I have with much pain parted with a gall-stone, and may have many more, which exercise may help to expel.

Besides, my connexion with Lord Shelburne is now dissolved, and I retire with an annuity of 150*l.* per annum;* and as I intended to reside in some cheaper place than Calne, and Mr. Wilkinson wishes me to fix somewhere near him, I think Birmingham will be near enough; and a neighbourhood to you, and other circumstances, strongly recommend it to me, in preference to most other parts of the kingdom. However, I wish to see the country, and make inquiries, being in no hurry about the matter. A convenient and cheap house, in the skirts of the town, would be a great motive. What I shall do further is altogether undetermined.

My wife, who came hither to attend upon me in my illness, desires to be remembered to yourself and your sister.†

TO REV. WM. ASHDOWNE.‡

SIR,

London, June 1, 1780.

I OUGHT long ago to have acknowledged the receipt of your valuable treatise. I read it with a good deal of attention, and intended to have written to you on the subject immediately on my arrival in London; but I was seized with a painful disorder, so that I have been obliged to neglect all my correspondents, and am now but imperfectly recovered.

Your book, I think, fully answers its object, as far as scripture can be interpreted by itself; but though the frequent and long quotations you have made may be necessary to some, they will appear tedious to others, especially where the thing to be illustrated is pretty obvious, or at least generally taken for

* See *supra*, p. 207.

† *Orig.* MS. See *supra*, p. 326, note †.

‡ Dover.

granted. A few remarks occurred to me, but they were not of much consequence; and not having the book now by me, I cannot recollect them. Only in general I did not see much reason for supposing that the Jews had any difference of opinion concerning the Messiah.

As to the publication of your other piece, I can only say that I am always well satisfied if my bookseller will take upon himself the risk of publishing my theological pamphlets, which he would not always do, but in consideration of what he gains by my other publications. A very few copies for particular friends is all that I ever get or ask. This is not an age in which there is much demand for things of this kind.

To get books into "proper hands," as you observe, is a difficult thing indeed. All our hope depends upon the younger and less prejudiced. The old must carry their errors to the grave, and this is no inconsiderable advantage attending the succession of the human species by death. All we can do is to scatter instruction indiscriminately, leaving it to the providence of God to direct it to the proper soil.*

\ TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

June 23, 1780.

IN a hasty answer to your obliging inquiries after my health, I wish to inform you that I am just returned to Calne, pretty well recovered, though I do not expect to be perfectly well for some time.

I have just written to Sir H. Trelawny, to invite him hither, according to a former appointment, and I am very anxious that you would accompany him, especially as I leave Calne at Michaelmas, and am removing to Birmingham, my connexion with Lord Shelburne having been dissolved.‡

* *Orig.* MS.

† Exeter.

‡ On the last hours of Lord Shelburne's extraordinary child, (see *supra*, pp. 201, 237, and 254 *ad fin.*) there has appeared a marvellous, ill-authenticated tale, in which Dr. Priestley is mentioned, but into which I was unwilling to digress. It is, however, just now very properly prefixed, by my friend, Rev. T. Jervis, a constant and competent observer, to a complete refutation, prompted by recollections "never to be obliterated by any distance of time," though with due courtesy to the respectable, but too credulous repenter.

I am sorry you have not received a copy of my Letters to an Unbeliever. I imagine the delay arose from my reprinting a leaf, and Mr. Cruttwell afterwards forgetting it. When you come hither I shall have a copy for you; but I own I wish you may see it before you come, and the price is not such as to be of any consequence to you.

I have not yet received the letter or plan you speak of, and your last, of the 7th instant, only a few days ago. Please to write to me no more under cover to Lord Shelburne.

I shall have the greater expectation of seeing you, as I fancy it will be your vacation-time, though on that account (our boys being at home) I do not know that we can make more than one spare bed; but for that, if you and Sir Harry come together, we will provide as well as we can.

Best respects to your father and mother.

P.S. My wife, who is much better than she has been, desires her respects to you.*

From the conclusive arguments of this pamphlet, I have great pleasure in separating the following description of early-matured human excellence.
Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.

“The Honourable William Granville Petty finished his short career of life in the *tenth* year of his age, when the dawn of reason held out the early promise of a bright intellectual day, and disclosed a splendid prospect of blooming virtues, and the fondest hopes. His intellectual faculties were naturally vigorous and alert; while a thoughtful turn of mind occasionally disposed him to contemplative habits very unusual at his age. His countenance was animated and intelligent, and when lighted up by adverting to any elevated sentiment or generous action, bore the significant impress of his mind.

“A sacred love of truth, a high sense of honour, elevated notions of liberty, justice, and humanity, and an unaffected piety, invariably inspired his youthful breast. An energy of mind, a vivid imagination, a singularly retentive memory, a fondness for reading, and a love of knowledge, with an insatiable desire of acquiring it by close attention and diligent application,—were qualities by which he was no less eminently distinguished. To these were added the engaging influence of a gentle, yet animated disposition, an artless, undesigning temper, and a generous, feeling heart. Had it pleased Providence to have spared a life so precious, he would no doubt have been an ornament to his country, the pride of his family, and an honour to human nature!” See “Remarks on some Passages in the ‘Literary Recollections’ of the Rev. Richard Warner, F.A.S., Rector of Great Chalfield, Wilts. In a Letter to a Friend,” (1831,) pp. 11, 16, 18, 19.

* *Orig.* MS.

CHAPTER VII.

(1780—1787.)

THE foregoing Memoirs and Correspondence, with such illustrations as inquiry or recollection could supply, have described the friendships, opinions, and employments of Dr. Priestley, till his removal to Birmingham. He had beheld, in 1780, those scenes of misrule and riot which have indelibly disgraced the name of Protestant. They, indeed, too clearly proved the baneful influence, on bigotry and ignorance, of such unreasonable alarms as his prejudiced associates had widely circulated, and which he had so early and so ably controverted. Yet, little apprehending “the pitiless storm” which would one day burst upon himself, he proceeds, with unalloyed satisfaction, to describe the facilities he had enjoyed for those various pursuits by which, like Berkeley, he would “dedicate his age, as well as his youth, the latter growth, as well as the first fruits, at the altar of truth.”*

(154.) I consider my settlement at Birmingham as the happiest event in my life, being highly favourable to every object I had in view, philosophical or theological. In the former respect I had the convenience of good workmen of every kind, and the society of persons eminent for their know-

* Conclusion of *Siris*, thus amplified by Sir W. Jones, in his copy of the work :

Before thy mystic altar, heav'nly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth :
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brighten'd by thy ray.
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Soar without bound, without consuming glow.

ledge of chemistry, particularly Mr. Watt,* Mr. Keir, and Dr. Withering. These, with Mr. Boulton, and Dr. Darwin, (who soon left us, by removing from Lichfield to Derby,) Mr. Galton,† and afterwards Mr. Johnson, of Kenilworth, and myself, dined together every month, calling ourselves the *Lunar Society*, because the time of our meeting was near the full moon.

(155.) With respect to theology, I had the society of Mr. Hawkes,‡ Mr. Blyth, and Mr. Scholefield,§ and his assistant, Mr. Coates, and, while he lived, Mr. Palmer, before of Macclesfield. We met and drank tea together every fortnight. At this meeting we read all the papers that were sent for the “Theological Repository,” which I revived || some time after my coming hither, and in general our conversation was of the same cast as that with my fellow-tutors at Warrington.¶

(156.) Within a quarter of a year of my coming to reside at Birmingham, Mr. Hawkes resigned, and I had an unanimous invitation to succeed him as colleague with Mr. Blyth,** a man of a truly Christian temper. The congregation we serve is the most liberal, I believe, of any in England; and to this freedom the unwearied labours of Mr. Bourn†† had eminently contributed.

(157.) With this congregation I greatly improved my plan of catechising and lecturing, and my classes have been well attended. I have also introduced the custom of expounding the Scriptures as I read them, which I had never done before,

* James Watt, distinguished in the history of modern inventions, (and, with Mr. Boulton, patentee of a highly important improvement in the steam-engine,) died, 1819, aged 83. See *Suppl. to Ency. Brit.* VI.

† See *supra*, pp. 215, 217, 325, 326.

‡ Colleague of Mr. Blyth, 1754. See Dr. Toulmin, *M. R.* IV. 659.

§ See *supra*, p. 26, *ad fin.*

|| In 1784. See *W.* VII. 526, *note* †.

¶ See *supra*, p. 58.

** Till 1791. He died, 1796, aged 75. See *Mem. of Bourn*, p. 274.

†† From 1732 to 1754. He had wisely “considered,” to quote his own language, “the youth of Christian assemblies as the principal object of a minister’s regard,” promoting among them by “his assiduous endeavours,” says Dr. Toulmin, “a liberal and extensive view of the principles, and a rational conviction of the truth of religion.” *Ibid.* pp. 24—49. See Mr. Bourn’s Letters to Doddridge, *M. R.* I. 293, 407, 459.

but which I would earnestly recommend to all ministers. My time being much taken up with my philosophical and other studies, I agreed with the congregation to leave the business of baptizing and visiting the sick to Mr. Blyth,* and to confine my services to the Sundays. I have been minister here between seven and eight years, without any interruption of my happiness; and for this I am sensible I am in a great measure indebted to the friendship of Mr. Russell.†

(158.) Here I have never long intermitted my philosophical pursuits, and I have published two volumes of experiments, besides communications to the Royal Society.‡

(159.) In theology I have completed my friendly controversy with the Bishop of Waterford on the duration of Christ's ministry.§ I have published a variety of single sermons, which, with the addition of a few others, I have lately collected and published in one volume,|| and I am now engaged in a controversy of great extent, and which promises to be of considerable consequence, relating to the person of Christ.

(160.) This was occasioned by my "History of the Corruptions of Christianity,"¶ which I composed and published

* Whom Dr. Toulmin describes as "visiting, at fixed times, all his congregation four times in a year." He adds,

"When, in grateful and respectful acknowledgment of the peculiar care and attention which Dr. Priestley bestowed on the youth of the congregation, the parents joined in a subscription to offer him a donation of 200*l.*, [*supra*, p. 216,] he would not accept this liberal present, unless he were permitted to give a moiety of it to Mr. Blyth, whose attention to other parts of the pastoral office he considered entitled him to an equal share with himself in any expression of his esteem and affection." *Mem. of Bourn*, p. 275.

† See *supra*, pp. 216, 217.

‡ "Experiments relative to Phlogiston, and the seeming Conversion of Water into Air," communicated "to Sir Joseph Banks, April 21. Read June 26, 1783." *Phil. Trans.* LXXIII. 398

"Experiments and Observations relating to Water and Air. Read Feb. 24, 1785." *Ibid.* LXXV. 279.

§ See *supra*, pp. 204, 205.

|| See W. XV. 1—190.

¶ See *infra*, p. 352. In 1785, this work "was burnt by the common hangman in the city of Dort." See W. V. 13; M. R. X. 96. A confutation of the "History" was proposed for one of the Hague prize essays. See Erskine's *Sketches*, p. 273.

presently after my settlement at Birmingham, the first section of which being rudely attacked in the "Monthly Review,"* then by Dr. Horsley,† and afterwards by Mr. Howes,‡ and other particular opponents, I undertook to collect from the original writers the state of opinions on the subject in the age succeeding that of the apostles, and I have published the result of my investigation in my "History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ," in four volumes octavo.§ This work has brought me more antagonists, and I now write a pamphlet annually in defence of the Unitarian doctrine against all my opponents.

(161.) My only Arian antagonist is Dr. Price, with whom the discussion of the question has proceeded with perfect amity. But no Arian has as yet appeared upon the ground to which I wish to confine the controversy, viz. the state of opinions in the primitive times, as one means of collecting what was the doctrine of the apostles, and the true sense of scripture on the subject.

In 1782, Priestley's *Hartley* was burnt by "the licensers at Brussels." *M. Mag.* XXXIV. 521. See W. V. 13, *ad fin.*

* "By Mr. Badcock, originally a Dissenting minister. He came to pay his respects to my father at Calne, [W. XIX. 533,] at which time he agreed with him upon most subjects. He afterwards found reason to change his opinions, or at least his conduct, connecting himself with the clergy of the Church of England, and became my father's bitter enemy." Mr. Priestley, *Mem.*, 8vo, p. 99. See *supra*, pp. 122, 123 *note*, 143; W. III. 216; XVIII. 4, 127, 151, 555, *ad fin.*; XIX. 4; XXV. 325.

† In "A Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans, 1783." The archdeacon denounces "the extraordinary attempt lately made to unsettle the faith, and break up the constitution, of every ecclesiastical establishment, in a recent publication which bears the title of a 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity,' among which the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity holds a principal place."

This has been not unjustly regarded as "an unfortunate exposure of the cloven foot of hierarchy," discovering "the morbid irritability of an expectant ecclesiastic," not without "a dread lest the structure of the Church Establishment might be too rudely shaken by sectarian attacks." T. C. *Mem.* 8vo, pp. 301—303. See W. XVIII. pp. 38, &c. On a milder controversial intercourse with Dr. Horsley in 1778, see W. IV. 150.

‡ In his "Observations on Books, ancient and modern." See W. XVIII. 310.

§ In 1786. W. VI. VII. See *supra*, p. 208, *note* †.

(162.) Some years ago I resumed the "Theological Repository," in which I first advanced my objections to the doctrine of the miraculous conception of Jesus, and his natural fallibility and peccability. These opinions gave at first great alarm, even to my best friends;* but that is now in a great measure subsided. For want of sufficient sale I shall be obliged to discontinue this "Repository" for some time.†

(163.) At present, I thank God, I can say that my prospects are better than they have ever been before, and my own health, and that of my wife, better established, and my hopes as to the dispositions and future settlement of my children satisfactory.

(164.) I shall now close this account of myself with some observations of a general nature, but chiefly on account of those circumstances for which I have more particular reason to be thankful to that good Being who has brought me hitherto, and to whom I trust I habitually ascribe whatever my partial friends think the world indebted to me for.

(165.) Not to enlarge again on what has been mentioned already, on the fundamental blessings of a religious and liberal education, I have particular reason to be thankful for a happy temperament of body and mind, both derived from my parents. My father, grandmother, and several branches of the family, were remarkably healthy and long lived; and though my constitution has been far from robust, and was much injured by a consumptive tendency, or rather an ulcer in my lungs,‡ the consequence of improper conduct of myself when I was at school, (being often violently heated with exercise, and as often imprudently chilled by bathing, &c.,) from which with great difficulty I recovered, it has been excellently adapted to that studious life which has fallen to my lot.

(166.) I have never been subject to head-aches, or any other complaints that are peculiarly unfavourable to study. I have never found myself less disposed or less qualified for mental exertions of any kind at one time of the day more than ano-

* See *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 220—235; M. R. VIII. 37.

† It was finally closed, 1788. See *supra*, p. 339; W. VII. 530—532.

‡ See *supra*, p. 8.

ther; but all seasons have been equal to me, early or late, before dinner or after, &c.; and so far have I been from suffering by my application to study, (which, however, has never been so close or intense as some have imagined,) that I have found my health improving from the age of eighteen to the present time; and never have I found myself more free from any disorder than at present; I must, however, except a short time preceding and following my leaving Lord Shelburne, when I laboured under a bilious complaint, in which I was troubled with gall-stones, which sometimes gave me exquisite pain; but by confining myself to a vegetable diet I perfectly recovered, and have now been so long free from the disorder, that I am under no apprehension of its return.

(167.) It has been a singular happiness to me, and a proof, I believe, of a radically good constitution, that I have always slept well, and have awaked with my faculties perfectly vigorous, without any disposition to drowsiness. Also, whenever I have been fatigued with any kind of exertion, I could at any time sit down and sleep; and whatever cause of anxiety I may have had, I have almost always lost sight of it when I have got to bed, and I have generally fallen asleep as soon as I have been warm.*

(168.) I even think it an advantage to me, and am truly thankful for it, that my health received the check that it did when I was young, since a muscular habit from high health and strong spirits are not, I think, in general accompanied with that sensibility of mind which is both favourable to piety and to speculative pursuits.†

(169.) To a fundamentally good constitution of body, and the Being who gave it me, I owe an even cheerfulness of temper, which has had but few interruptions. This I inherit from my father, who had uniformly better spirits than any man

* "My father was an early riser. He never slept more than six hours. He said he did not remember having lost a whole night's sleep but once, though when awake he had often to suffer much from pain and sickness, as well as from other circumstances of a very afflictive nature." *Mr. Priestley.*

† "Though not a muscular man, he went through great exertion at various times of his life with activity. He walked very firmly and expeditiously." *Ibid.*

that I ever knew, and by this means was as happy towards the close of life, when reduced to poverty, and dependent upon others, as in his best days, and who, I am confident, would not have been unhappy, as I have frequently heard him say, in a workhouse.

(170.) Though my readers will easily suppose that, in the course of a life so full of vicissitude as mine has been, many things must have occurred to mortify and discompose me, nothing has ever depressed my mind beyond a very short period. My spirits have never failed to recover their natural level; and I have frequently observed, and at first with some surprise, that the most perfect satisfaction I have ever felt has been a day or two after an event that afflicted me the most, and without any change having taken place in the state of things. Having found this to be the case after many of my troubles, the persuasion that it *would* be so after a new cause of uneasiness, has never failed to lessen the effect of its first impression, and, together with my firm belief of the doctrine of necessity, (and consequently that of every thing being ordered for the best,) has contributed to that degree of composure which I have enjoyed through life, so that I have always considered myself as one of the happiest of men.

(171.) When I was a young author, (though I did not publish any thing until I was about thirty,) strictures on my writings gave me some disturbance, though I believe even then less than they do most others; but after some time, things of that kind hardly affected me at all, and on this account I may be said to have been well formed for public controversy.* But what has always made me easy in any controversy in which I have been engaged, has been my fixed resolution frankly to acknowledge any mistake that I might perceive I had fallen into. That I have never been in the least backward to do this in matters of philosophy, can never be denied.

* "Though Dr. Priestley has been considered as fond of controversy, and that his chief delight consisted in it, yet it is far from being true. He was more frequently the defendant than the assailant. His controversies, as far as it depended upon himself, were carried on with temper and decency. He was never malicious, nor even sarcastic or indignant, unless provoked." T. C., *Mem.* Svo. p. 105.

(172.) As I have not failed to attend to the phenomena of my own mind, as well as to those of other parts of nature, I have not been insensible of some great defects, as well as some advantages, attending its constitution; having, from an early period, been subject to a most humbling failure of recollection, so that I have sometimes lost all ideas of both persons and things that I have been conversant with. I have so completely forgotten what I have myself published, that in reading my own writings, what I find in them often appears perfectly new to me, and I have more than once made experiments, the results of which had been published by me.

(173.) I shall particularly mention one fact of this kind, as it alarmed me much at the time, as a symptom of all my mental powers totally failing me, until I was relieved by the recollection of things of a similar nature having happened to me before. When I was composing the "Dissertations," which are prefixed to my "Harmony of the Gospels,"* I had to ascertain something which had been the subject of much discussion, relating to the Jewish passover, (I have now forgotten what it was,) and for that purpose had to consult and compare several writers. This I accordingly did, and digested the result in a compass of a few paragraphs, which I wrote in short hand; but having mislaid the paper, and my attention having been drawn off to other things, in the space of a fortnight I did the same thing over again, and should never have discovered that I had done it twice, if, after the second paper was transcribed for the press, I had not accidentally found the former, which I viewed with a degree of terror.

(174.) Apprized of this defect, I never fail to note down, as soon as possible, every thing that I wish not to forget. The same failing has led me to devise, and have recourse to, a variety of mechanical expedients to secure and arrange my thoughts, which have been of the greatest use to me in the composition of large and complex works; and what has excited the wonder of some of my readers, would only have made them smile if they had seen me at work. But by simple and mechanical

* See *supra*, p. 204.

methods one man shall do that in a month which shall cost another, of equal ability, whole years to execute. This methodical arrangement of a large work, is greatly facilitated by mechanical methods, and nothing contributes more to the perspicuity of a large work than a good arrangement of its parts.

(175.) What I have known with respect to myself, has tended much to lessen both my admiration and my contempt of others. Could we have entered into the mind of Sir Isaac Newton, and have traced all the steps by which he produced his great works, we might see nothing very extraordinary in the process. And great powers with respect to some things are generally attended with great defects in others; and these may not appear in a man's writings. For this reason it seldom happens but that our admiration of philosophers and writers is lessened by a personal knowledge of them.

(176.) As great excellencies are often balanced by great, though not apparent defects, so great and apparent defects are often accompanied by great, though not apparent excellencies. Thus my defect in point of recollection, which may be owing to a want of sufficient coherence in the association of ideas formerly impressed, may arise from a mental constitution more favourable to new associations; so that what I have lost with respect to memory, may have been compensated by what is called invention, or new and original combinations of ideas. This is a subject that deserves attention, as well as every thing else that relates to the affections of the mind.

(177.) Though I have often composed much, in a little time, it by no means follows that I could have done much, in a given time. For whenever I have done much business in a short time, it has always been with the idea of having time more than sufficient to do it in; so that I have always felt myself at ease, and I could have done nothing, as many can, if I had been hurried.

(178.) Knowing the necessity of this state of my mind to the dispatch of business, I have never put off any thing to the last moment; and instead of doing that on the morrow which ought to be done to-day, I have often blamed myself for doing

to-day what had better have been put off until to-morrow ; precipitancy being more my fault than procrastination.

(179.) It has been a great advantage to me that I have never been under the necessity of retiring from company in order to compose any thing. Being fond of domestic life, I got a habit of writing on any subject by the parlour fire, with my wife and children about me, and occasionally talking to them, without experiencing any inconvenience from such interruption. Nothing but reading, or speaking without interruption, has been any obstruction to me. For I could not help attending (as some can) when others spoke in my hearing. These are useful habits, which studious persons in general might acquire if they would ; and many persons greatly distress themselves, and others, by the idea that they can do nothing except in perfect solitude or silence.

(180.) Another great subject of my thankfulness to a good Providence, is my perfect freedom from any embarrassment in my circumstances, so that, without any anxiety on the subject, my supplies have always been equal to my wants ; and now that my expenses are increased to a degree that I had no conception of, some years ago, I am a richer man than I was, and without laying myself out for the purpose. What is more, this indifference about an increase of fortune has been the means of attaining it. When I began my experiments, I expended on them all the money I could possibly raise, carried on by my ardour in philosophical investigations, and entirely regardless of consequences, except so far as never to contract any debt ; and if this had been without success, my imprudence would have been manifest. But having succeeded, I was in time more than indemnified for all that I had expended.

(181.) My theological studies, especially those which made it necessary for me to consult the Christian fathers, &c., have also been expensive to me. But I have found my theological friends even more liberal than my philosophical ones, and all beyond my expectations.

(182.) In reflecting on my past life, I have often thought of two sayings of Jacob. When he had lost one of his sons, and thought of other things that were afflictions to him, he said.

“all these things are against me,” at the same time that they were in reality making for him. So the impediment in my speech, and the difficulties of my situation at Needham, I now see as much cause to be thankful for, as for the most brilliant scenes in my life.

(183.) I have also applied to myself what Jacob said on his return from Padan Aram, “With my staff I went over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands;” when I consider how little I carried with me to Needham and Nantwich, how much more I had to carry to Warrington, how much more still to Leeds, how much more than that to Calne, and then to Birmingham.

(184.) Yet, frequently as I have changed my situation, and always for the better, I can truly say that I never wished for any change on my own account. I should have been contented even at Needham, if I could have been unmolested, and had bare necessities. This freedom from anxiety was remarkable in my father, and therefore is in a manner hereditary to me; but it has been much increased by reflection; having frequently observed, especially with respect to Christian ministers, how often it has contributed to embitter their lives, without being of any use to them. Some attention to the improvement of a man’s circumstances is, no doubt, right, because no man can tell what occasion he may have for money, especially if he have children, and therefore I do not recommend my example to others. But I am thankful to that good Providence which always took more care of me than ever I took of myself.

(185.) Hitherto I have had great reason to be thankful with respect to my children, as they have a prospect of enjoying a good share of health, and a sufficient capacity for performing the duties of their stations. They have also good dispositions, and, as much as could be expected at their age, a sense of religion. But as I hope they will live to see this work, I say the less on this subject, and I hope they will consider what I say in their favour, as an incitement to exert themselves to act a Christian and useful part in life; that the care that I and their mother have taken of their instruction may not be lost

upon them, and that they may secure a happy meeting with us in a better world.

(186.) I esteem it a singular happiness to have lived in an age and country, in which I have been at full liberty both to investigate, and by preaching and writing to propagate, religious truth; that though the freedom I have used for this purpose was for some time disadvantageous to me, it was not long so, and that my present situation is such that I can with the greatest openness urge whatever appears to me to be the truth of the gospel, not only without giving the least offence, but with the entire approbation of those with whom I am particularly connected.

(187.) As to the dislike which I have drawn upon myself by my writings, whether that of the Calvinistic party, in or out of the Church of England, those who rank with rational Dissenters, (but who have been exceedingly offended at my carrying my inquiries farther than they wished any person to do,) or whether they be unbelievers, I am thankful that it gives less disturbance to me than it does to themselves; and that their dislike is much more than compensated by the cordial esteem and approbation of my conduct by a few, whose minds are congenial to my own, and especially that the number of such persons increases.

I have now, according to my best ability, carried on the “Memoirs of Dr. Priestley” to the end of that largest portion of them, which, as before described, he wrote in England, and to the last paragraph of which he has annexed “Birmingham, 1787.” The following correspondence, continued to the same period, will conclude the earlier part of this Biography.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 19, 1781.

I BLAME myself much for not answering your friendly letters, but I hope you will do me the justice to attribute my

* Exeter.

silence to any thing but a want of a most grateful remembrance of your kind partiality to me. I was long in an unsettled state after my coming hither, and I now find that I have so much to do, that I hardly know what to set about first. I am almost satisfied, however, that I did acknowledge the receipt of your very valuable remarks on my Letters.* I have them not just now at hand, but was much struck with them; and if I ever reprint those Letters, shall certainly make much use of them.

I have just printed a sermon that I preached† on accepting the invitation to the new meeting in this town, and shall desire Mr. Johnson to send you a copy. Of the Letters to the Bishop of Waterford I hardly made any presents, as we only printed a small number, and the work can never pay for itself. I wish, however, you may see it, and tell me how the argument impresses you.

I have nearly printed a fifth volume of "Experiments," &c., and when that is quite out of the press, (which will be in a fortnight or three weeks,) I propose to go and spend a few weeks in London. I should be happy if it should suit you to meet me there.

I was much surprised at receiving the invitation from Exeter,‡ imagining that I could not have many friends there. I am glad to find by your account, and that of some others, that I judged wrong. As far as I can judge, I have a prospect of being very useful and happy here. I have proposed four classes of young persons: two I have opened already, and two more I shall form soon. I shall also have a library for the use of my classes, and in some measure for the congregation at large; so that I hope to do more in that way here than I did at Leeds. I have also begun to give short explanatory notes, &c., as I read the Scriptures, which are much attended to, perhaps the more, as I have hitherto done this extempore.§

The death of Dr. Fothergill|| was a great loss to me, as he

* See *supra*, 333.

† "Dec. 31, 1780." W. XV. 28.

‡ Where Mr. Towgood was now probably contemplating his resignation, which took place in 1782. See *supra*, p. 321; *Life of Towgood*, p. 73.

§ See *supra*, p. 339.

|| In 1780. See *supra*, pp. 75, 214.

was the chief promoter and manager for the expense of my experiments, &c. At present it amounts to 40*l.* or 50*l.* per annum. Some of my friends are endeavouring to procure something more considerable, and more permanent, but I do not know whether they are likely to succeed. This business is necessarily expensive, and I shall go on as I am able.

The obligation I am under to my friends in this way, and the precarious state of my health, which is favoured by the exercise that experiments require, and would suffer by confinement, makes me unwilling to take any boarders, though I do not know that I should refuse one or two of a suitable age, &c.

The Commentary you propose on the New Testament would no doubt be very useful, but the undertaking 'would be too laborious for me at present; and I really think that no person of my acquaintance is so well qualified to do it justice as yourself. Suppose you were to try a few books that require the least illustration.

The Dissertations are the same in the English as in the Greek Harmony, with the addition of one Letter to the Bishop of Ossory. The notes are miscellaneous, but chiefly for the unlearned. Two Letters to the Bishop are now printed separately.

I have not had any account of the *darkness* you mention. It must have been very extraordinary, and I hope some philosophical person on the spot will publish an account of it.

My best respects to your father and mother.

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 30, 1781.

YOU will blame me for my long silence, and with great appearance of justice; but indeed, in consequence of my late unsettled state, and bad health, I have been obliged to neglect many of my correspondents. At present, I thank God, I am tolerably well, except that I cannot digest animal food. Of my situation you will be able to form some idea from the in-

* "Kendal. Free Wycombe."

closed sermon. On the whole it is very promising; and I am particularly well situated for carrying on my experiments.

I shall now sit down in earnest to my account of the Corruptions of Christianity. As I am so much farther North I shall not despair of seeing you, especially as Mr. Scholefield is here too. He is very well, and the two congregations have very happily been on the best terms in the world. I hope you are by this time happily settled in your new house.

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

July 6, 1781.

I HAVE just received a letter from a Mr. William Christie, jun., of Montrose,* a person, I perceive, in good circumstances, an Unitarian, and on that account so unpopular, that if he should choose it, he does not think the Scotch ministers would baptize his children. He therefore wishes that I would recommend to him some person of Unitarian principles in the North of England, who would be willing to go to Montrose, and baptize two children that Mrs. Christie has just brought him. He will defray all the expenses of the journey, and make a suitable acknowledgment; and if it be agreeable, he will wait upon the minister, and conduct him to Montrose.

I have advised him to call his family and friends together, and baptize the children himself; but as he will hardly choose

* Who, in his preface (1810) to "Dissertations on the Unity of God," mentions a visit from "the late Rev. Caleb Rotheram, an amiable and deserving person, and a nephew of Dr. Benson, at Montrose, on particular business, in August 1781."

At the close of 1783, he was joined at Montrose by Rev. T. F. Palmer, and they formed a society there for Unitarian worship. In 1795, Mr. Christie emigrated to America. In 1801, he settled at Northumberland, where his name will frequently occur in the later correspondence, and where he published, 1804, "A Speech delivered at the Grave of the Rev. Joseph Priestley," and "A Review of Dr. Priestley's Theological Works," annexed by Mr. Joseph Priestley to his father's Memoirs.

In 1807, Mr. Christie removed to Philadelphia. He died, 1823, "at Long Branch, New Jersey, aged 73." See M. R. VI. 129, *note*, 136, 197, 198; XIX. 363; W. II. 415, 416; XXI. 488.

this, I have taken the liberty to mention your name to him, thinking if you should not like the journey yourself, you would recommend some person more to the North. I wish you would write to him on the occasion, and let him know what can be done for him.

I thank you for your kind inquiries about my *hand*, which, I thank God, is now almost as well as it was, only a little weak. My situation here is very agreeable in every respect, and both Mr. Scholefield and myself should be very happy if you could favour us with your company for as much time as you could spare. I have a bed at your service, and shall be happy to receive you.

If I had had a cover for you, I would have sent you Mr. Christie's letter, which would give you a favourable opinion of him.

I wish you much happiness in your new house.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND†.

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, July 27, 1781.

I BLAME myself much for not sooner answering your very friendly letters, and particularly that I missed the opportunity I had by Mr. Manning,‡ but he left Birmingham sooner than I expected.

I was sorry I could not shew Mr. Manning my manner of lecturing to young people; but when he was here it happened to be the time for the young ladies. Had it been the young men's lecture, I should have taken the liberty to introduce him, as he has the same thing in view. I have now about fourscore, between seventeen and thirty, and near one hundred and fifty catechumens in all; and the more experience I have of this business, the more useful I am satisfied it is.§

In all respects I am at present very happy in my congrega-

* *Orig.* MS.

† Exeter.

‡ See *supra*, p. 321, *note*.

§ The following later description was given by Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Turner, from "London, Sept. 1, 1783," on a return from a journey:

"From Shrewsbury we passed to our common friend's at Birmingham, where we stayed near a week, highly gratified and delighted with ten thousand things under our friend's roof, with Mr. Russell also, and Mr. Hawkes,

tional charge, and I hope it will continue. Indeed I am, I think, just where I ought to be, and I have time enough for my philosophical pursuits, as well as my theological ones; and the expense of my experiments is generously defrayed by some of my opulent friends, who are unwilling that I should abandon my pursuits on that account.

As you are pleased to inquire into the state of that subscription, I must inform you that it is now managed by Mr. Samuel Salte, in the Poultry, London.* It is near 100*l.* per annum, which, if it be kept up, will be very well, though it is necessarily a very expensive business, and some of my friends, willing to give me a greater scope, will, I believe, endeavour to extend the subscription.

I was much shocked to hear of Mr. Merivale's† case. Pray inform me how he does.

There is much dispute about the cause of *fairy rings*. They are not occasioned by lightning, but probably something in the soil respecting *vegetation*. I wish you would measure those near you. It is said that they increase every year.‡

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

London, Sept. 3, 1781.

I AM much obliged by your letter, and especially that you take in so good part my neglecting to write to you; but indeed

and the sights at Birmingham. Mr. Burke, above a year ago, after having called upon Dr. Priestley, and seen his library, laboratory, and philosophic pursuits, with so much ease and cheerfulness carried on, reported him to all his friends as the most happy of men, and most to be envied; but Mr. Burke did not see, and would not perhaps have relished, his Sunday work, which constitutes a chief part of his happiness.

"I was surprised on the Sunday afternoon, in going into the meeting for my hat, to see near thirty young ladies, some of them, I was told, married, seated, to be instructed in the principles of Christianity. This was the third class that had been before him that day; and this is his usual work every Sunday, added to his officiating to the whole congregation one part of it. But I need not speak of him to one that has known him longer than I have done." *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 191, note †.

* See *supra*, p. 215.

† See *supra*, p. 174, where I have inadvertently supposed Mr. M.'s "decease, in 1771;" when he appears to have commenced "tutor in divinity."

‡ *Orig. MS.*

I had nothing of consequence to say. I am much concerned for Mr. Merivale. In him the Dissenters will certainly lose one of their greatest ornaments, but I am willing to hope the best in his case.

As you wish I would mention some person that I think might be proper to assist or succeed Mr. Towgood, I would take the liberty to name that Mr. Palmer,* who wrote the letter addressed to me in my English Harmony, and has lately published some Remarks on Mr. Madan's work.† If I should have suited that congregation, he will much better, having a much stronger voice, and a more animated delivery. He now lives at Birmingham, on a small fortune, but preaches frequently; and though I have said nothing to him on the subject, I think he would prefer a respectable situation as a minister to his present way of life. At present his health is but indifferent, but in general he is very well; and I think constant and full employment would be of service to him. He is well qualified to give such lectures as I do to young persons, and I think would choose to do it. He was educated at Warrington when I was there, and is of a very studious turn. He is the author of a very ingenious *short-hand*, and several very good pamphlets in favour of religious liberty.

I am now on a journey for health or pleasure along with a gentleman of my congregation, Mr. Russell, whose name you will see in my sermon at Birmingham. I shall be three Sundays absent, and shall get as far as Southampton; but we shall not stay long at any place. If you will direct to me at Mr. Johnson's, in London, your letter will find me.

The last edition of the "Historical View," &c.,‡ is the second, twice as large as the first, and it is sufficiently argumentative, as well as historical.

I have not room to notice any thing else in your letter.§

* See *supra*, p. 334.

† *Thelyphora*. See *supra*, p. 172, *note*.

‡ Archdeacon Blackburne's, I suppose, "of the controversy concerning an intermediate state, 1772."

§ *Orig.* MS.

TO REV. C. WYVILL.*

REV. SIR,

Birmingham, Feb. 14, 1782.

I THINK myself much honoured by your note, and the communication of the *Address*. I am far from making myself a judge in political matters, but I cannot help approving the spirit and object of it, and hope that by these publications men may be prepared to exert themselves with judgment and effect whenever the state of things shall be favourable to it. At present what you call “a pause of astonishment,” is, in this part of the country, a pause of *indifference*. But the time must certainly come when the subject will *force* attention.†

Though I cannot promise you much success at present, I think it right to have such pieces as this *Address* in the way of those who ought to read them, and therefore shall be obliged to you for a few copies of it.‡

* Rev. Christopher Wyvill had early relinquished his preferments in the Established Church, though he never, I believe, publicly renounced her communion. He was the intimate friend of Lindsey and Jebb; like them, the uniform advocate of ecclesiastical reform, though more conspicuous as a political, and especially a parliamentary reformer. He died, 1822, aged 82. See “a tribute to his memory,” M. R. XVII. 246.

† Dr. Priestley writes as if, “rapt into future times,” he had presaged the “Birmingham Political Union.”

‡ *Political Papers*, IV. 157, where Mr. Wyvill adds,

“This letter was the only one the Editor ever had the honour to receive from this virtuous and eminently useful philosopher, who was then enjoying in peace his well-earned reputation, but who, after this period, became the object of hatred and animosity to a powerful party in this country, by whose savage outrages he was compelled to quit it. The Editor knows not whether he may yet (June 1802) be permitted to speak what he thinks of him and the persecution he sustained, without exciting in some degree the same barbarous intolerance against himself. To satisfy his feelings, he will hazard it.

“Dr. Priestley was a friend to rational liberty, and a devoted follower of truth wherever she might lead him, qualities which, in better times, would have secured to him, without his other claims as a philosopher, the general respect of his fellow-citizens; but, in theology and politics, he was too hardy a speculator for the temper of his age. His theology offended and alarmed the clergy; his politics irritated the ministry and their adherents. From the fury of his enemies he narrowly escaped from Birmingham with almost nothing but his life.

“The tardiness of an unwilling administration delayed the reparation of

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.*

DEAR SIR,

London, April 13, 1782.

I KNOW you will do me the justice not to attribute my not writing to you to any other cause than a multiplicity of business, and my not having any thing of sufficient importance to write to you about.

I have by no means been unattentive to your valuable exertions in the cause of religious truth. I greatly esteem both your publications, and think your reply to Mr. Sturges† a master-piece, and you write with that conciseness and force that some persons complained of your want of, before. Mr. Lindsey read to me part of his MS. letter to you.‡ You will, no doubt, answer it. Do it by all means with civility, as you have hitherto done, but do it with firmness and without any sparing in point of argument, and write so as you should not be ashamed to publish it, if it should be necessary. He would, no doubt, make a public reply, if he thought he could do it with advantage.

I am exceedingly happy in my situation at Birmingham, and I hope useful in it. My endeavours to form the minds of

his losses; and, with a most culpable parsimony, his just demands were disallowed, or inadequately compensated. Driven from his home at Birmingham, and pursued with equal rage in London, he could not trust the laws of his country for the protection of his person, and the relics of his property. He was forced to seek safety by exile in America. There he found friendship and protection; and his magnanimity under his severe misfortunes commanded general esteem in that country.

“May the temper of this nation be improved under a milder and more equitable administration than that of Mr. Pitt, and one more liberal and philosophic than that of Mr. Addington. May it be one of the fruits of so happy a change, that the certainty of personal safety and protection, by the justice and liberality of government, may encourage this respectable exile to return from his unmerited banishment; and may he end his days in peace and honour in his native country, among Englishmen at last ashamed of the cruel intolerance of which he was suffered so nearly to become the victim.”

* Taunton.

† On his “Considerations on the present State of the Church Establishment.” M. R. X. p. 671. Dr. Sturges died, 1807. *Ibid.* II. 662.

‡ See “Particulars, &c., by Dr. Toulmin.” *Ibid.* III. 235.

youth (and I have about 150 under my care) meet with all the encouragement that I could wish.

I have finished the first rough copy of the "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," but shall keep it a few months for revisal before I send it to the press. The call for the "Letters to an Unbeliever" has not been considerable. An answer I find is published by a professed Atheist.* I shall read it when I go into the country, and perhaps reply to it. Of late I have been particularly busy and successful in my experiments; but these things, I fancy, do not much interest you.

I beg my respectful compliments to Mr. Ward.†

P. S. I am much pleased with your son,‡ whom I saw with Mr. Lindsey, and wish you every satisfaction in his improvement and conduct.§

FROM BISHOP NEWCOME.||

REV. SIR,

Dublin, May 23, 1782.

I SHOULD immediately have acknowledged the favour of your most obliging letter, but that I waited to procure a cover.

As I kept no copy of the letter I lately had the pleasure of writing to you,¶ and have only a general recollection of its substance, give me leave to request that you will send me a transcript of the part which you mean to print. The paragraph which you propose to subjoin shews an excellent turn of mind in you, and is very honourable to me.

* See *supra*, p. 199.

† Minister of the Presbyterian congregation at Taunton; where he died, 1797, aged 83. "In early life, at Litchfield," says Dr. Toulmin, "he formed an acquaintance with Dr. Samuel Johnson and Mr. Garriek." *Prot. Diss. Mag.* IV. 242, 244.

‡ Harry Toulmin, then about the age of 16. After a few years occupied as a Unitarian minister, he emigrated to America, in 1793, and never revisited England. See *Prot. Diss. Mag.* I. 291; M. R. XIII. 617.

Mr. Toulmin filled, during 30 years, respectable public stations in the United States. He died, 1823, "at his residence in Washington County, Alabama State, aged 58." M. R. XIX. 179.

§ *Orig. MS.*

|| Signed "W. Waterford." See *supra*, p. 204, *ad fin.*

¶ From "Dublin, April 19, 1782." See W. XX. 224.

I conceive that you design to mention the close of our friendly debate in a postscript to your third letter.* As I had not the least expectation that a controversy would ensue on what I took the liberty to throw out in my Harmony, I submit it to you whether a note might not be properly subjoined to your words, "this controversy was begun"—It was occasioned by the remarks the Bishop made in his Harmony of the Gospels, on the duration which I assign to our Saviour's ministry.

I freely confess that writing further on the subject of our amicable controversy, would not only be uninteresting to me, but tedious. At first I found the discussion of the point neither unpleasing nor unprofitable. I was led to review my own notions with care, and to state them with precision. I had the advantage of considering with much more attention than I should otherwise have done, every "jot and tittle" of the gospels which related to the matter in dispute, and I had the satisfaction of frankly acknowledging my errors whenever I felt myself confuted. But I fear that men new in controversy are too apt to be guided by a spirit of refutation, and I am disposed to think that experience alone can teach a controversialist to conduct himself throughout with strict propriety and decorum. I am happy, however, that you express yourself so well satisfied with my general manner of acquitting myself, and I can truly say in return, that I was often struck with the learning, ingenuity, and liberal spirit of my antagonist, and that I consider him as a diligent investigator and sincere lover of truth.

You will do great honour to my late publication by giving it an attentive perusal. I shall be happy to be favoured with your sentiments whether any thing is wanting to the integrity of the subject, and whether you observe any material omissions in the several inductions of particulars. Indeed, hints of any kind from you will conduce much to the improvement of my book. I well know that in some points we maintain different conclusions, and speculative men will always differ in many

* See *supra*, pp. 204, 205; W. XIX. 303.

points; but one of the happy consequences of examination is charity to those who disagree with us.*

FROM DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR,

Passy, June 7, 1782.

I RECEIVED your kind letter of the 7th of April, also one of the 3rd of May. I have always great pleasure in hearing from you, in learning that you are well, and that you continue your experiments. I should rejoice much if I could once more recover the leisure to search with you into the works of nature. I mean the inanimate, not the animate or moral part of them. The more I discovered of the former, the more I admired them. The more I know of the latter, the more I am disgusted with them. Men I find to be a sort of beings very badly constructed, as they are generally more easily provoked than reconciled, more disposed to do mischief to each other than to make reparation, much more easily deceived than undeceived, and having more pride, and even pleasure, in killing than in begetting one another; for, without a blush, they assemble in great armies, at noon-day, to destroy, and when they have killed as many as they can, they exaggerate the number, to augment the fancied glory.

In what light we are viewed by superior beings may be gathered from a piece of late West-India news, which possibly has not yet reached you. A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business, for the first time, had an old courier-spirit assigned him as a guide. They arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. When, through the clouds of smoke, he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs, and bodies dead, or dying, the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air, and the quantity of pain, misery, and destruction, the crews yet alive were thus, with so much eagerness, dealing round to one another; he turned angrily to his guide and said,

* MS. copy, which, I apprehend, Dr. Priestley had communicated to Mr. Belsham, by whom it has been endorsed, "Bp. Waterford, 1782."

“ You blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business. You undertook to conduct me to the earth, and you have brought me into hell.” “ No, Sir,” says the guide, “ I have made no mistake. This is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner. They have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call humanity.”

But, to be serious, my dear old friend, I love you as much as ever, and I love all the honest souls that meet at the London Coffee House. I only wonder how it happened that they and my other friends in England came to be such good creatures in the midst of so perverse a generation. I long too see them and you once more, and I labour for peace with more earnestness that I may again be happy in your sweet society.

I shewed your letter to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who thinks with me, that the new experiments you have made are extremely curious, and he has given me, thereupon, a note which I inclose, and I request you would furnish me with the answer desired.

Yesterday the *Count du Nord** was at the Academy of Sciences, when sundry experiments were exhibited for his entertainment, among them one by M. Lavoisier,† to shew that the strongest fire we yet know is made in a charcoal, blown upon with dephlogisticated air. In a heat so produced he melted platina presently; the fire being much more powerful than that of the strongest burning mirror.‡

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, June 9, 1782.

I AM so very confident that you will not ascribe my not writing to you to any want of friendship, that I am perhaps induced to trespass too much upon your patience. However, I am always happy to hear from you, and hope you will not omit writing whenever you have any thing to communicate to me. I shall not fail to do the same, when I think it really imports you to know any thing that I can inform you of.

* Grand Duke of Russia, afterwards the Emperor Paul.

† See Part ii. *Mem.* 189.

‡ *Works*, II. 33.

§ Exeter.

I can say nothing about Mr. Palmer that I have not said already. You will never find any man perfect, or without some disagreeable peculiarities; but if you will be content with a man of very considerable ability, of a studious turn of mind, an excellent composer, and with a voice and delivery much superior to mine, together with the most unexceptionable conduct, you will find them in Mr. Palmer. As to politeness, he is no way deficient, and has as much of it as I think a student and a minister ought to have. In my opinion, you will hardly find a man more to your own liking than he is. Indeed, as he can live very well independent of preaching, I hardly think he will listen to an invitation to Exeter, were it not that your climate and neighbourhood to the sea would probably be more favourable to his health than this. He is obliged to visit the sea pretty often.

As you wish to know what I am about, I will tell you all the particulars that I think will interest you. 1, I have just printed off seven "Additional Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," in answer to one Mr. Hammon, a professed Atheist.* 2, I am likewise printing two sermons, preached at meetings of ministers, one "on Habitual Devotion,"† part of which you heard me deliver at Exeter,‡ and the other printed, but not published before, on "Not Living to Ourselves."§ 3, I am this week sending to the press my "History of the Corruptions of Christianity." This will make two pretty large volumes Svo. This has been so much expected, that I much fear it will disappoint my friends when they see it. However, I have done the best I could; and I think I have shewn, satisfactorily enough, when and by what means every thing that I deem to be an innovation in the original system took place. My treatise is likewise argumentative, as well as historical. 4, I am also sending to the press a new edition of my Disquisitions and treatise of Necessity, &c.

I do not know whether I have written to you since I made my experiments on *phlogiston*. I think I have satisfactorily

* See *supra*, p. 358.

† Which occasioned Mrs. Barbauld's "Address to the Deity." See *supra*, p. 54; W. XV. 101, 103.

‡ See *supra*, p. 322.

§ W. XV. 100—146.

cleared up the whole of that obscure subject, proving it to be the very same thing with *inflammable air* from metals. I also prove a remarkable relation between alkaline air and inflammable air; but the detail is too long for the end of a letter. I continue to prosecute my experiments with the assistance of some friends, as I told you. Some fall off by death, &c., but others come in their places. To keep this in a few hands, none give less than five guineas a year, several give ten. I have inexhaustible researches before me, but for some capital ones I want sunshine, of which we have had very little of late.

P. S. I rejoice much that Mr. Merivale is so well recovered, and beg my respects to him.*

TO REV. WM. ASHDOWNE.†

REV. SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 12, 1782.

I REALLY am not able to give you the information you wish, for all the use that I could make of the philosophy of the apostolical age, you will find in my “Disquisitions.”‡ But the divisions at Corinth seem to have been similar to those which prevailed in the schools of philosophy in general, one man boasting of one teacher, and another of another, without supposing any great difference among them.

I am obliged to you for your inquiry about my situation, and have the pleasure to inform you that it is a very agreeable and, I hope, an useful one. I beg your acceptance of a copy of two discourses I have lately published.§

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.||

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 12, 1782.

I WAS very happy that you had the goodness to go to Mr. Christie's at my request, and that the journey proved so agreeable to you. Mr. Christie, indeed, seems to be a most excellent man, and certainly he has great fortitude in entering with so much spirit on the scheme I ventured to recommend

* *Orig.* MS.

† Dover.

‡ W. III. 358.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Kendal.

to him. I hope he will enjoy the satisfaction of it, and have no reason to repent of it.* The orthodox have great advantages by laying less stress on a liberal education; and with proper forms, Christian societies, of the most liberal kind, may well be kept up without it. Indeed, the state of the Dissenting interest is such, that the better part of it must soon become extinct, unless something of this kind be done. Many ministers, well educated, cannot be maintained among us, except by resources of their own. I have some thoughts of writing something on the subject, with proper forms for all the occasions of a Christian society.†

I think I have hardly ever had so much upon my hands as this summer. In my experiments I have been very busy, and very successful; but as you do not give much attention to those things, I shall not trouble you with the particulars. It will, perhaps, give you more pleasure to hear that my "History of the Corruptions of Christianity" is nearly printed off. It will be two large volumes 8vo., and I hope will be one of the most useful of all my publications.‡ I have a "General

* See *supra*, p. 352. On this subject Mr. Lindsey writes from "London, Oct. 18, 1783," to Rev. W. Turner, Jun.

"At our return from our long journey, I found in town Mr. Christie, the merchant, the founder of the Unitarian Society at Montrose, and was much pleased with his open carriage and character, as well as his well-directed zeal in the cause of gospel-truth. The great variety of learning he is master of, and his great reading, would be to be remarked in one who made it a principal pursuit, but is very extraordinary in a man of business. He has good presence of mind, and a ready elocution, which has been, and is, of service to him in his present undertaking." *Orig.* MS.

† This design was executed, 1783. See W. XXI. 474.

‡ Of which Mr. Lindsey gives this favourable report, from "London, Jan. 21, 1783," to Mr. Turner. "I am rejoiced to find that Dr Priestley's History of the Corruptions, &c, is much approved here, by some excellent judges, such as Dr. Jebb, and Mr. Kirwan, an Irish gentleman, who got the medal of our Royal Society this last year, and is, as the doctor says, the best general scholar he ever met with, and particularly able, also, in theology." *Orig.* MS.

The History and the author were, on the other hand, thus censured, (in connexion with valuable remarks of general application,) by Archdeacon Blackburne, from "Richmond, Oct. 7, 1783," to Rev. J. Wiche. (See *supra*, p. 69 *note*.)

"Dr. Priestley has written a large book concerning the Corruptions of

Conclusion," in two parts, one addressed to Unbelievers, especially Mr. Gibbon, whom I invite to a discussion of the historical evidence of Christianity, and the second to the friends of establishments, especially Bishop Hurd. I have likewise reprinted my little Appeal, with a concise history of the several articles.

I have likewise just printed off a new and probably a last edition of my "Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit," and of the "Treatise on Necessity." I think I have now quite done with these metaphysical subjects, and shall confine myself to philosophy and theology.

Christianity, and he has prophesied that his Unitarian system will be the creed of the whole Christian world. But, admit this should be the case with respect to this single article, will the whole Christian world come into his sentiments concerning every other article which he thinks fit to call a corruption? If not, *quid te exempta juvat spinis e pluribus una?*

"The excellent Taylor, of Portsmouth, has published a book on the grand apostacy. His position is, that Christianity is able to subsist by its own energies, which I believe to be true. But that these energies are to be found, pure and uncorrupted, in any religious society as such, I believe not. Religious society may be edifying on some occasions, and to a certain degree. But you must seek for the operation of the genuine Christian energies, in the honest, intelligent, and impartial individual, who, in his practical exercises of this kind, must not look up to his church or his sect, either for light or consolation. The Scriptures are his only resource, without the interpretations of his bishops or his elders: and from thence, simple and unlearned as he may be, he may derive 'the answer of a good conscience towards God,' not to be had merely from church membership, which is too often a snare to the unwary.

"Dr. Priestley's Unitarians (I call them so, for I know Unitarians who belong not to his class) have had great advantage in meeting with absurd antagonists, bad reasoners, and not masters of their subject. But Mr. Robinson is not one of this description, and answered he should be, if they desire to hasten the completion of their prophecy." *Orig. MS.* Mr. Wiehe, however, entertained an "idea very different" of Robinson's Plea.

To the secession of Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Disney, though from a church whose partial reformation and unscriptural exactions he had so freely exposed, (see *supra*, p. 82 *note*,) the Archdeacon was never reconciled. In a previous letter to Mr. Wiehe, "Sept. 9," he had thus complained:

"Dr. Disney, who married my eldest daughter, you would see by the public prints, gave up his preferments, and has joined the Socinians in Essex Street, a step which has greatly afflicted me; though, on the principles of the liberty of private judgment, it might not be opposed. These gentlemen are under the conduct of Dr. Priestley, whose forte, as far as I can judge, is not in the theological line." *Orig. MS.*

I am exceedingly happy in my congregation, and shall print a few more small pieces for the use of my classes. I have 150 in a regular course of instruction, and I am thankful for such a sphere of certain usefulness.

Mr. Scholefield and myself want much to bring you hither to preach our annual charity sermon. If you should be invited, I hope you will not refuse. I shall be exceedingly rejoiced to see you, and I may, perhaps, return the visit; for I really have thought of taking a journey on horseback for the sake of my health, and shall like to see the north of England.*

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1782.

I LIKE the plan of the work you have in view, and think that having got rid of your school, &c., you will have leisure for it. A history of the Reformation at large would be a more useful work still.

I do not know that I shall resume my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever" soon, but I do not lay aside the thought of it. In the "General Conclusion" of my "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," I give a challenge to Mr. Gibbon, to discuss the evidences of Christianity with him.

As I write more largely to Mr. Bretland by this post, having covers for him and none for you, I refer you to him for any articles that he may think you would wish to know from it, to save myself the trouble of writing, being in haste.‡

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Dec 14, 1782.

I INCLOSE a letter to Mr. Anstis, and leave it open, that I may save myself the trouble of saying the same things to you. If you will undertake the Grammar, please to inform me of it soon, that I may stop the reprinting of it in its present form. But, indeed, considering how your time is employed, I can hardly expect you will undertake it. If you do, it will be a pleasure to me to think of our names having some connexion,

* *Orig. MS.*

† Taunton.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Exeter.

by being united in the same work. I wish to be informed of the nature of your school, the terms of it, and what your engagements are with respect to future pupils. A line on this subject will oblige me.

The additions to the Institutes are considerable. Those to the Disquisitions are chiefly a second preface, and the same to the Treatise on Necessity, with an Appendix, which, however, was not necessary. It may be just worth your while to look them over, if they should fall in your way. I have in these replied briefly to Mr. De Luc and others.* I inclose a copy of the Appeal, with additions. It is a cheap edition to sell, and almost give away in this neighbourhood only. A few pounds will print a thousand, and many thus distributed is no bad kind of charity. Could such a thing be done with you?

I am glad to find you are again engaged in the ministerial capacity, and wish you would continue in it.† I wonder at your aversion to read the works of others. I would advise you to do it freely, and expound largely, as I do, in part without notes, or from short hints, which you cannot but find very easy. This is the most acceptable and useful part of my pulpit performances.

I have seen glass cut under water, and only suppose that the resistance made by the water prevents the parts separating and breaking so much as it does in the open air. But there is probably something more in the fact that I do not understand.

I am particularly pleased with your observations on the *fairy rings*. By doing what you propose, you will soon explain every thing belonging to them, and do an acceptable service to science. I shall be glad to lay such an article before the Royal Society.

I have no thoughts of reviving the “Theological Repository.” I wish some person in London would do it.‡

I have been very successful in the prosecution of my experiments, and have lately converted pure water into an equal weight of permanent air, by previously combining it with quicklime, and then exposing it to a strong heat. It is chiefly

* See W. III. 211.

† See *supra*, p. 191.

‡ Yet, see *supra*, p. 342.

such air as a candle would hardly burn in, but would be the best for plants, which would render it fit for respiration. Such air would be yielded in abundance by volcanoes, from calcareous matters in the earth, and therefore was perhaps the original atmosphere of the earth, which, according to Moses, had plants before there were any land animals.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 8, 1783.

IT was not in my power to do any thing with respect to Exeter.‡ I find Mr. Kenrick, from Daventry, is now there as a candidate.§

The conversion of water into air was a deception, but on a principle more extraordinary than that. I have sent an account of it to the Royal Society.||

I inclose my Reply to the Review.¶ Mr. Cappe has since sent me a much better, which I shall urge him to print. He proves much more from the passage in Justin** than I had done, and by the finest piece of Greek criticism that I remember to have seen.

TO REV. N. CAPPE.††

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 20, 1783.

I CANNOT express how much satisfaction I have received from the publication of your remarks.‡‡ I also think myself much honoured by your Introduction; and have only to regret that you printed so few copies that it will not bear to be advertised, and consequently cannot have the spread that one would wish it to have. I have desired 25 copies here, but certainly shall (and with much pleasure) be answerable to you for

* *Orig. MS.*

† Kendal.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 350, 355.

§ Rev. Timothy Kenrick was chosen, and remained in that connexion till his justly-regretted decease in 1804, aged 45. See a Memoir, by Rev. John Kentish, M. R. III. 57—66.

|| See *supra*, p. 340, note †.

¶ W. XVIII. 3—37.

** *Ibid.* pp. 16—20.

†† “York.”

‡‡ “In Vindication of Dr. Priestley.” *Mon. Rev.* LXIX. 309. See W. XVIII. 17 note.

them. It also should have been charged a shilling. I hope you will be preparing for a new edition against the Review be completed, and then, perhaps you may see no objection to giving your name. At present, I think you did right in withholding it.*

Dr. Horsley, I just hear, has been preaching a sermon against my work,† and has been prevailed on to print it, though in the form of a pamphlet.‡ I shall be happy to communicate with you in all my future proceedings in this business. I am too precipitate, and much want so cool and so able an assistant.

I am happy that you think well of my Reply.§ I have now fairly committed myself on the subject. I know too, from the best authority, that the bishops and clergy about the court are exasperated to the greatest degree, but I see no reason to wish I could recede. The triumph of the party in this Review has been very great, and has here occasioned an extraordinary demand for it. I rejoice in it, as it looks as if the subject was attended to, and that we shall not preach to the bare walls.||

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Sept. 22, 1783.

I SEND you my answer to Dr. Horsley¶ and beg your perusal of it, as expeditiously as you conveniently can, and then

* This pamphlet is not mentioned in the *Mem. of N. Cappe*.

† Since note ||, *supra*, p. 340, was printed, I have observed that Mr. J. H. Stone, writing to Mr. Lindsey, from "Paris, 1801," says, "I am about to publish a translation of the Corruptions of Christianity." M. R. XI. 643.

‡ Entitled, "A Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban's." See W. XVIII. 39.

§ On which Mr. Lindsey thus writes to Mr. Turner, in a letter quoted *supra*, p. 353, note §.

"His reply to the Monthly Reviewer has been very seasonable. You would hardly credit it, was I to tell you how many persons cried out, (and the names of some), that not only his accuracy, but his fidelity as an historian, was to be called in question, and that his Socinian prejudices had quite blinded him. If they will read this little piece of his, and his vindication by another able hand, which, I doubt not, you have seen, they will induce them to think otherwise." *Orig. MS.*

|| *Orig. MS.*

¶ W. XVIII. 33—116, probably now in MS.; thus noticed by Mr. Lind-

return it by the coach to Mr. Lindsey. I think a few days will be sufficient for this purpose, as I only wish you to note either any thing materially wrong, or any capital oversight. It is not yet properly arranged, and very inaccurate in many respects.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 11, 1783.

I THANK you for the trouble you have given yourself to transcribe so much from *Przipscovius*,‡ though a reference would have been sufficient, as I have the work. But that you could not know, and I should not have found it myself. I think *Przipscovius* has no authority for supposing that any Jews left the Ebionites, and joined the Gentile Christians. Indeed, it is my opinion, that, as Jews, they are to be distinguished by their peculiar rites and ceremonies to the end of the world.§

I expect to print off my letter to Dr. Horsley this week. You will then see on what ground I stand, and perhaps it might have a good effect if you and others of my friends should give me some assistance. A translation of *Przipcovius*, or extracts from him, would, I think, be very useful; and your remarks in your last were very judicious, and would do good.

sey to Mr. Turner, Jun., "Oct. 18, 1783," in connexion with the previous controversy:

"Our friend Dr. Priestley has been driven out to sea by the adverse power, and violent storms and tempests conjured up against him since the date of your letter; but he will ride out of them all triumphantly.

"His answer to the first very unfair attack of the Monthly Reviewer, is temperate and manly, not only defending his subject in every material point, but illustrating it still further. I have no doubt but this last renewed assault, from the same hand, but with less plausible pretences, will be easily repelled. But it is to be lamented, though it cannot be remedied, that the Reviewer speaks to thousands every month, but who looks into a theological controversial pamphlet? Still, however, I have no doubt but the truth, which Dr. Priestley defends, will come out more, and, perhaps, soon, entire from this opposition. The Reviewer will be noticed in an appendix to a very masterly account, which the doctor has already drawn up, of Dr. Horsley's attack upon him, (in his Charge,) a part of which I have seen" *Orig. MS.*

* *Orig. MS.*

† Exeter.

‡ A Polish Knight. He wrote a *Life of Faustus Socinus*.

§ See W. XII. 442.

Remarks on the Reviewer* would do well for the public papers, to counteract the extensive spread of the Review. But all this must be left to every person's own judgment. I am perfectly easy as to the issue of this business, but time will be requisite.

I am in haste now, and therefore hope you will excuse a short letter, and please to deliver the inclosed to Mr. Manning.

P. S. It is believed by many that Mr. Badcock is the writer of the review. What think you?†

TO REV. JAMES MANNING.‡

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 11, 1783.

YOU have laid me under a great obligation by the communication of so many facts that I had overlooked with respect to the subject of your letter,§ and I only deferred acknowledging

* Mr. Cappe's pamphlet, *supra*, p. 368. "Nov. 6, 1783," Mr. Lindsey thus writes to Mr. Turner :

"Dr. Priestley is, at present, over head and ears in his experiments, and taken up, as to theological matters, with the work cut out for him by Dr. Horsley and the Reviewer. From this last review of Mr. Cappe's excellent and just piece of criticism, as well as from the whole of their conduct, it appears that it is resolved, if possible, to run down Dr. Priestley's work. We shall, however, soon see his reply to both, and some efforts made to counteract them, in the monthly productions, if any will admit them.

"Griffiths, the editor of the Monthly Review, is entirely in the hands of his theological Reviewer, not daring to gainsay any thing he does, for fear of disgusting and losing him; though he professes a great respect for Dr. Priestley. Who the man is we know not. A Churchman, most think. But some say a Dissenter, who thinks he has received some disgust from Dr. Priestley. I am afraid he is a mere combatant and controversialist, and would not be at all moved by your remarks of St. Paul's better spirit and consideration for the first Jewish converts, by which I am much edified." *Orig. MS.*

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Exeter, where he died, 1831, aged 77, having been minister 53 years. *M. R., N. S., V. 719.*

§ Mr. Manning, in 1823, obligingly sending me a copy of this only letter of Dr. Priestley's still in his possession, says,

"I occasionally corresponded with Dr. Priestley. Soon after he had published his History of the Corruptions of Christianity, I wrote to him to express my doubts how far he was grounded in stating that it was no part of the Catholic creed that 'no faith was to be kept with heretics,' and quoted many authorities for the contrary opinion. In answer, I received from him

it till I had an opportunity of a cover to Mr. Bretland. I shall certainly correct my History the first opportunity, and shall be thankful to you or any of your friends for any similar emendation of that work. It is my earnest wish to make it as perfect as I can, and my opponents will be of great use to me in this respect.

I am flattered by your favourable opinion of my reply to the Monthly Review. I hope you will approve of my Letters to Dr. Horsley still more. I was never engaged in any controversy in which I had so much satisfaction; but time will be requisite, considering the disadvantage I labour under before any considerable effect can be produced.

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 26, 1783.

I HOPE you will not take it amiss that I have not written to you sooner, as you cannot think it owing to any want of respect, but only of time, and because nothing material depended upon it.

Mr. Foot's piece I have, and I thank you for a sight of Mr. Barker's, and I shall return it by Mr. Johnson. I cannot say that I find any thing materially new in it; but the impression that the same arguments make on different minds is very great, and is a humbling consideration to us all.

I have desired Mr. Johnson to send you a copy of my Letters to Dr. Horsley, and at your leisure shall be glad of your thoughts on the subject. I am informed that Mr. Badcock is the writer in the Monthly Review, and think it probable. What think you and your friends, who hear more of him than I now do? At one time he professed the greatest attachment to me, but *tempora mutantur*.

P. S. I thank you for the copies of *Scougal*,† and shall make

the following letter, which I have preserved as a valuable testimony to his candour and willingness to receive any intimations of a supposed mistake from any quarter." See W. V. 359, 360; XXII. 510, *note*.

* Taunton.

† "Life of God in the Soul of Man."

the use that you wish of them. But I think you would easily compose something better of your own. It cannot be totally divested of its orthodox air.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Jan. 16, 1784.

I CANNOT express how much I think myself obliged to you for the pains you have taken in writing such long extracts from the curious book you have met with. I see they will be of great value to me, but you must favour me with a sight of the book itself. It will be time enough for me if I receive it when I shall be in London in April next. The author of the book is, I believe, Samuel Crellius, the grandson of John Crellius, and it is the same book the Reviewer alludes to.‡ I have had various information that Mr. Badcock is the writer in the Review, and I do not doubt it. What connexions has he now, and what kind of a character does he support?§

I think Artemonius wrong in supposing that the Nazarenes were at all different from the Ebionites, and I do not wish to establish his reading of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ for $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

Have you thought about the miraculous conception? I am strongly inclined to disbelieve it, and even to publish my doubts.¶ I inclose what I had intended for my reply to the Review, but am persuaded to omit it. I could now add more objections. I beg you would write freely.¶¶

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Exeter.*

‡ *Mon. Rev. LXVIII. 521. See W. XVIII. 33, 34.*

§ "In the answer to the preceding, dated March 7, 1784, I said, I am obliged to you for your last pamphlet. On what evidence you call on Mr. Badcock as the Reviewer, I think you do not particularly mention. Whether he will acknowledge himself to be the Reviewer, or whether he be really so or not, I cannot tell. I have not seen him a long while, and know very little about him, but I hear nothing to his disadvantage. He is generally spoken of as a man of very considerable abilities, and I have heard that he cultivated an early acquaintance with the Fathers." *Note by Mr. Bretland.*

¶ See *supra*, p. 342. These "doubts" could scarcely have occurred to Dr. Priestley till after the publication of his *Harmony*, 1780. The introductions of Luke and Matthew there appear, without any mark of uncertainty, with a note by Dr. Jebb on *Luke* i. 34, which fully assumes "the miraculous conception."

¶¶ *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Feb. 28, 1784.

BEING in haste, you will, I hope, excuse my not answering yours particularly. I beg your acceptance of the inclosed,† and shall be obliged to you if you will make it as generally known as you can. It is a disagreeable controversy, but I hope some good will come of it in the end. At one time no man was more attached to me than Mr. Badcock. He took a journey of 100 miles to see me.‡ But finding it necessary, (in order to make his peace with his orthodox friends,) he renounced all correspondence with me and other heretics.§

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.||

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 17, 1784.

I BELIEVE I have all the letters you have been so obliging as to write to me. I inclose another copy of my Remarks, with ten of the Appendix,¶ wishing to circulate them as far as I can. I thank you for your account of Mr. Badcock, and do not wonder at his intention to conform.** I believe a friend of

* “Kendal. Free, Edm. Burke.” See *supra*, p. 354, *note*.

† “Remarks on the Monthly Review of the Letters to Dr. Horsley, in which the Rev. Samuel Badcock, the Writer of that Review, is called upon to defend what he has advanced in it.” W. XVIII. 125.

‡ See *supra*, p. 341, *note* *.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| “Taunton. J. Free Lee.”

¶ Four additional paragraphs. See W. XVIII. 140—142; where I have erroneously altered the date to 1785.

** On this subject Mr. Lindsey thus writes from “London, April 15, 1784,” to Mr. Turner:

“I hope you have got Dr. Priestley’s Remarks on the Review of the Letters to Dr. Horsley, in the Monthly Review. The attack on Dr. Priestley has made near a thousand more of the Reviews to be vended, which contained those articles.

“Mr. Badcock was first known to Dr. Priestley as a contributor to the Theological Repository. [See *supra*, pp. 122, 123, *notes*.] Some immoral conduct making Barnstaple such as he could not continue in as minister, he removed to South Molton, Devon, to a small obscure orthodox congregation, where some relations of his are the principals. But his Dissenting brethren do not own him, and he lives chiefly among the Church clergy and gentry; and is said to be laying in an interest for preferment, having shewn a disposition to conform to the establishment. [See W. XIX.

mine has sent a copy of my work to the library you mention in America. They will hardly be read there at present.

I shall observe your hint in any new edition of my History. I shall probably alter the expression you mention, (p. 72,) but I think the argument will still be sufficiently strong. I shall be glad to see all I can on the subjects. I never use the doxology Mr. Ward* objects to, and could not now defend it.

Others have made the same objections that you do to the prayer in the forms.

I wish you would attempt what you think to be wanting with respect to the Unitarian doctrine. I think you could do it well.

The writer in the Gentleman's Magazine is Mr. Hollis, a very worthy man. I wish Mr. Turner, or any other learned Arian, would enter into the public controversy with me.†

TO REV. N. CAPPE.

Birmingham, March, 1784.

DR. HORSLEY, I hear, is preparing a reply, and will, I believe, soon have it in the press. I wish you were a little nearer to me. I want just such a regulator and guide as you would be to me in this business. You are too far off to be consulted in emergencies.‡

538.] These particulars a Dissenting minister of Exeter mentioned in a company where I was the other evening.

"You will be rejoiced with the good tidings I can send you of Dr. Priestley's perfect health. He came to town on Tuesday evening, and remains here about three weeks. He promised to read over some of the Fathers, for the great work he has in hand; but it will be impossible for him. It will be a noble work when finished. He is persuaded, himself, and doubts not but he shall be able to prove, from the testimony of the Fathers themselves, that the bulk, the mass of Christians, were all Unitarians till the council of Nice; nay, beyond that period.

"He was here a few hours ago. I am to meet him again to-morrow. He desired his particularly kind remembrances to you and Mrs. Turner. We both called on Dr. Jebb yesterday, who, I am sorry to tell you, is not in a good state of health; but I trust a kind Providence will restore him. It is the remains of a bad putrid fever, near two years ago, which has never been well removed." *Orig. MS.*

* See *supra*, p. 358.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ Extract. *Mem. of N. Cappe*, p. 42.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 12, 1784.

THE expiration of franks reminds me of what I ought to have done long ago; but really I have never been so busy in my life, and therefore have hardly written to any body. I am now just finishing for the press my Reply to Dr. Horsley.† This is the easiest controversy I was ever engaged in, as I have only the choice of different methods of exposing the same thing. In about a month I imagine my piece may be ready for publication; at the same time I am proceeding with my larger History of Opinions concerning Christ, which I shall hardly finish these two years. I must keep your two volumes some time longer, as I have by no means done with the ancients yet, and till that be over, I do not care to do much with the moderns.

I do not wonder at your affliction on the death of your excellent mother; but I think it is impossible that you should want any argument for consolation that I can supply. I cannot say but that the doctrine of an intermediate state would be more consoling than that of sleeping in the grave; but as the Scriptures say nothing of it, I presume, with you, that there is no such thing, and am thankful for such consolations as are truly Christian, and may be depended upon; and you may have the full benefit of them.

I thank you for your advice relating to Mr. Badcock. I shall, however, take little notice of him, as I shall sufficiently obviate all that he has said, in my answer to Dr. Horsley.

I inclose my proposals for resuming the Repository,‡ but nothing has been sent to me yet; so that it will hardly be

* Exeter.

† On whom Mr. Lindsey had written to Mr. Turner, "July 31. You have not, perhaps, seen Dr. Horsley's blustering, insolent letters to Dr. Priestley. They are very extraordinary in their kind, and at this time of the day, and to be dated, also, Fulham Palace, as if countenanced by the bishop, whose chaplain he is. Dr. Priestley, however, is not dismayed." *Orig. MS.*

‡ See M. R. VII. 526.

done soon. I have, however, a good many things for it, but it will require time to digest them properly.

You will perhaps be able now and then to convey a line for me to Mr. Johnson, who can send me parcels without much expense, and I shall be always glad to hear from you.*

TO REV. MR. EMANS.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 25, 1784.

I AM much obliged to you for inquiring about the books. The *Bibliotheca Patrum* consists of between twenty and thirty volumes, and therefore this cannot be “a complete set,” except it should be a first work of the kind, and therefore imperfect on that account. However, as it contains some things that I am in want of, I wish you to get them for me‡ as cheap as you can, and send them, directed to Mr. Hornblower, Digbeth.

I am transcribing my Reply to Horsley. This will be larger than my former letters to him, as I shall introduce some new matter.§

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRITICAL REVIEW.

SIR,

Birmingham, Jan. 25, 1785.

As you were so obliging as to announce my intention to revive the *Theological Repository*, I hope you will indulge me once more with leave to acquaint the friends of free inquiry that the first number of it was published on the first of December last; the second will be ready for publication on the first of February next; and that it will continue to be published occasionally, as proper materials are received for it.

Several very important articles are already in the course of

* *Orig.* MS.

† Coventry.

‡ “Nov. 11,” following, Mr. Lindsey writes to Mr. Turner, “Dr. Priestley wants to borrow the Byzantine historians, for it would not any way suit him to buy them. I presume you hardly know any one in the country that could accommodate him with them; or, if he could not have them all, Anna Comnena’s *Historia* would suffice.” *Orig.* MS.

§ MS. copy from the original.

discussion; and as it will be open to any *query* or *difficulty* relating to religion, and it is wished that the writers should conceal their names,* it is hoped that many persons may derive great assistance from it in their inquiries. A particular account of the plan of the work may be seen in the *Introduction* to it.†

* This very fair proposal, according to the approved method of duly estimating the force of argument, *non quis, sed quid*, immediately called forth the following vituperation against anonymous signatures from an undiscoverable P. Q. R.; and his language, no doubt "the language of his heart," may serve to discover the kindling of that fire which at length blazed out in the never-to-be-forgotten *Birmingham riots*, when "Church and King" became the ruffian's favourite watch-word:

"Is this the conduct of free, ingenuous inquiry, or is it the art of Jesuitism, and the insidious slyness of present Presbyterianism? Will Dr. Priestley set his own name to every sentiment he holds forth in print; and will he invite assassins to stab religion in the dark? Let Dr. Priestley reflect how he can answer, not to his Saviour, for he has disavowed him, but to his God and Judge, for this insidious conduct."

P. Q. R. concludes by desiring "to awaken some of the professors of our pure and holy religion to enter the lists in defence of 'the faith once delivered to the saints;' and without regard to establishments, creeds or confessions, tell the undecided or deluded multitude whether the *truth* is in Priestley or Jesus." *Gent. Mag.* LV. 112.

The following remarks of *Philolcutherus* soon appeared on the other side:

"If P. Q. R. knows Dr. Priestley, I think he would not, and if he does not know him, I am sure he should not, talk in a manner that excites an indignation and contempt, which it is very difficult to suppress.

"It has always been the favourite study of Dr. Priestley's life to learn and teach the doctrine of *Jesus*, to promote the knowledge, and extend the influence of it, by his instructions in every way, and especially by his own excellent example.

"I enter not into the tenets of the theologian; they must stand or fall by the reasons that are for or against them; but I contend that there is a reverence due to the principles of the man. They appear to me dignifying principles, the leading strokes of a great character, entitled to protection from that humanity to which they do credit, and much too sacred to be silently relinquished to the rude attacks of anonymous ignorance or ill-will." *Ibid.* p. 198. See P. Q. R., *ibid.* p. 328.

† *Crit. Rev.* LIX. 80. The following remarks on the "Letters to Dr. Horsley, Pt. II.," are in the same volume:

"Dr. Priestley, in his former Letters to Dr. Horsley, discussed the points concerning which he differed from his antagonist, in an argumentative and respectful manner; but Dr. Horsley, having assumed a tone of authority,

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, April 5, 1785.

I SHOULD have written to you before this time, but I think I have never been more busy in my life; but I am now a little at leisure, having finished my larger History of Opinions concerning Christ, and even transcribed it for the press; but I have not yet looked into the work you favoured me with, or any other modern writer. I have composed the whole from original writers, to whom I have not less than 1500 references, and about 1000 translated passages. I think my labour well bestowed. The whole will make two volumes in 8vo.

I have the most abundant evidence for every thing that I have advanced in my late controversy, and think I shall throw much new light on the opinions of ancient times. Some things that are very new, or of a doubtful nature, I shall previously insert in the Repository, which I suppose you will see. At present the sale is trifling, hardly sufficient, I believe, to pay for the advertising; but I shall not be discouraged. I thank you for the article you sent me.†

I shall be much obliged to you if you will take my English Grammar under your own care, as if it was your own, and make whatever additions or alterations you think proper; and

and mixed his arguments with what he calls ‘the high seasoning of controversy,’ our author, in the present publication, has taken the liberty to treat him with more freedom, and indeed has defended himself against the Arch-deacon, and his ‘great and good ally,’ with admirable dexterity and success.” *Ibid.* p. 126.

* Exeter.

† Mr. Bretland’s contributions to the Repository, as marked in his own copy, were, “Thoughts on the Demoniack Possessions of the New Testament” (IV. 128); “An Illustration of *John* xvi. 26, 27, viii. 58” (345); “A Query concerning the Future State” (352); “An Argument against the Reasoning found in the Scriptures being inspired” (364); “Of the Use of the Greek Article” (427); “Objections to the Arian Hypothesis” (V. 1); “Observations on the Divine Mission of Moses” (366; VI. 39); “Objections to Ordination among Dissenters” (322); “The Scripture Doctrine of the Love of Christ” (382).

Mr. Bretland’s signatures were “A Christian, Discipulus, Philander, A Lover of Order, Adjutor.” See M. R. XIV. 533.

if you choose, I will write you a short letter, which you may insert in the preface, requesting it as a favour that you would do so. I cannot attend to these matters now.

I hope to be favoured with more matter proper for the Repository from you and your friends. At present the contributors are but few. All the signatures in the first number are my own, except *Christophilos*.* This for your own satisfaction. In No. 3, I am considering the miraculous conception, about which you wished me to be cautious. When it is finished, I shall like to know what you think of the argument. You will probably have a good deal more under the signature of *Pamphilus*. What think you of *Christophilos*? I expect great things from him.

I propose to set out for London on Monday, and wish you would write to me there. Direct for me at Mr. Johnson's, 77, St. Paul's. I shall stay, if all be well, about three weeks.

I have had no answer from Mr. Taylor, of Portsmouth, to my challenge in the Repository.† I wish much for some learned Arian to appear before I publish my larger work.

P. S. What account of the *fairy rings*?‡

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

MR. URBAN,

Birmingham, June 16, 1785.

MR. BADCOCK, having in your last Magazine mentioned the loss of a curious MS. which he formerly gave me, § I shall be obliged to you if you will give me leave to make another attempt to recover it, by means of the more extensive circulation of your publication than that of the Theological Repository.

* Rev. John Palmer. See *supra*, p. 334, note †, where read 1788 and 526. See also *supra*, pp. 355, 362.

† See W. VII. pp. 472—475.

‡ Orig. MS.

§ "Her [Mrs. Wesley's] letters to her daughter on the first principles of religion, together with some other curious papers, I communicated some years ago to Dr. Priestley; and when he expressed a desire to transcribe them, I saved him the trouble, by freely making him a present of the originals. One of the most valuable (and which in a letter to me he calls *uncommonly curious*) he hath unfortunately lost. I took no copy of it myself, so that I am afraid it is irrecoverable." *Gent. Mag.* LV. 365.

The MS. contains a copy of old Mr. Wesley's diary, and letters written by his daughters to the distant members of the family, relating to some *strange noises** heard in the house, all in the hand-writing of Mr. Samuel Wesley.† Not long before my removal from Calne, I lent it to some person who visited me at my own house; and being about to remove, and in a very bad state of health, I neglected to take an account of the person to whom I delivered it. If he, or his executors, should meet with this letter, I hope they will not hesitate to return it.

If by this means the MS. should be recovered, I promise you, Mr. Urban, that (if you choose it) the substance, or the whole of it, shall be at your service; and I do not know a more proper repository for it than your useful miscellany. This MS., though extremely curious, is however the least valuable part of the collection of papers with which Mr. Badcock favoured me. The letters I am now in possession of will supply the most authentic materials for the history of Mr. John and Charles Wesley, about the time that they took their religious turn, and the publication of them will be of great use at a proper time.‡

TO REV. WM. ASHDOWNE.§

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Aug. 11, 1785.

I WAS far from taking what you wrote to me in any other than good part, and thought myself much obliged to you for it, and the tract with which you favoured me, and which I perused with care; but as I had nothing new to advance on the subject, I thought it unnecessary to make any remarks. With the same evidence before us, you and I shall probably continue to think differently on the subject of baptism.

* See W. XXV. 330.

† Elder brother of the Wesleys. See *ibid.* p. 326.

‡ Soon after the decease, in 1791, of John Wesley, the survivor of the brothers, Dr. Priestley published these Letters, with a "Preface" and "Address to the Methodists." See *ibid.* pp. 325, 331.

§ Dover.

If I have not written to you of late, it has been owing to nothing but the necessity I am under of writing as few letters as possible. Indeed, I never write to any person but on some particular business. There are few persons of whose critical sagacity I think more highly than I do of yours, and I shall be thankful for your communications for the Theological Repository, which I have opened again. But hitherto the sale will not pay for advertising. I shall, however, venture another volume.

I do assure you it will always give me pleasure to hear from you, and I shall not fail to write whenever I have any thing of consequence to communicate.

P. S. I am printing my large "History of early Opinions concerning Christ." It will be three vols. 8vo.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.

DEAR SIR,

Sept. 14, 1785,

I thank you for your answer to *Moderatus*,† and shall print it in the next number. I think it excellent. I cannot engage any learned Arian to come forth in the present controversy, so that we have the field almost wholly to ourselves. As the Repository cannot be continued without a subscription, do you think you could get any thing subscribed in Exeter? I will send you a copy of some proposals I am printing for that purpose.

Please to tell Mr. Morgan that there is no probability of my Forms coming to a second edition, and that it will be best to publish his own separately. Besides, if I do republish it, it will be with several more of my own, and with some change of the plan.

There is a young man that I recommended to a place in this neighbourhood, (from near Portsmouth,) a Unitarian, but I do not know that he has any thought of field-preaching.

My History is now in the press. It will make three or

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Theol. Repos.* V. 1. See *supra*, p. 379, note †.

four volumes 8vo, and I hope will be ready for publication about April or May next. I expect great assistance from you in the Repository.

P. S. I shall be very happy to spend a few days with you at Exeter; but even if I should get as far as Bristol, (which may be in company with one of my congregation,) I think you ought to meet us there. I shall be glad to hear what you have to observe on ordination. It will do very well for the Repository.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Sept. 23, 1785.

THOUGH I am obliged to write as few letters as I possibly can, you see I do not entirely forget you, and I write with the annexed Address,‡ because I think you would blame me if I had overlooked you on the occasion. The Repository must not fall a second time, if it can be supported by proper materials, and by money. As to materials, I foresee we shall not want; but the sale is so trifling, that we must get assistance, at least for the present.

Perhaps you may wish to know what progress I am making with my large History. I have printed one volume, and I believe it will make four. If all be well, it will be out of the press in February or March next, and will be published some time in the ensuing summer. It has been a laborious business; but I hope I may now have done with it, and apply to other things.§ I have materials for another volume of ex-

* Orig. MS.

† Kendal.

‡ See W. VII. 530, 531, *note*.

§ On this History, and on a Sermon, &c., from which, in 1787, I heard Sir. W. Dolben, in Dr. Priestley's hearing, alarm the House of Commons, (see W. XVIII. 544; XIX. 143, 144, *notes*,) Mr. Lindsey, "London, Dec. 5," thus writes to Mr. Turner:

"If Mr. Maty had not made a mistake, which he will set right in his next Review, you would there have seen (for the last month) the heads of the first volume of our friend at Birmingham's History of Opinions concerning Christ. You will be pleased to learn that he has now in the press a Fifth of November Sermon, with an appendix, entitled, Reflections on the State of Free Inquiry in Religious Matters, in this Country. The publication is intended to shew the necessity of carrying the Reformation still farther, and

periments, and shall probably apply to that in the next place.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 10, 1785.

AS I have, at Mr. Toulmin's request, sent him a copy of the annexed Address, I think it right to send you one at the same time. I do not mean to distribute many. I am very unwilling to have so useful a scheme abandoned, and hope that this measure will prevent it. Your answer to *Moderatus* will be inserted in the next number. *Photinus*, whom you are pleased to compliment, is myself; but I wish to avoid a contest with *Moderatus*, as he is a neighbour,‡ and people have expected me to answer him. I am glad to see that there was no occasion for that: I should not have done it so well. You will see things both for and against the Miraculous Conception in the next number. I am *Ebionita*. *Symmachus* is a neighbour.§ I have two papers of *Nepiodidascalos*;|| in one, severe strictures on *Erasmus*,§ and mild ones on a *Christian*.¶

We shall soon have the controversy on Baptism in the Repository. I have one paper, and expect more. Hoping to have many of your valuable communications, I am, &c.**

TO REV. WM. ASHDOWNE.††

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 23, 1785.

I HAVE just received your two volumes of tracts, for which I think myself much obliged to you, and shall hope to find in them something proper for the Repository; but in this I think

of people making all allowance to their ministers, and all of us bearing with, and countenancing one another, in pursuing our researches into the truths of Revelation, though they may be carried to some things we may not at first, or not at all approve." *Orig. MS.*

Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Cappe, "Dec. 8," after referring to Mr. Maty and his Review, mentions "a letter from Holland relating to Dr. Priestley's History of Corruptions." *Orig. MS.*

* *Orig. MS.*

† Exeter.

‡ Rev. Benjamin Carpenter, Stourbridge. See *supra*, p. 208, *ad fin.*

§ John Palmer.

|| Wakefield.

¶ Bretland.

** *Orig. MS.*

†† Dover.

it right to be governed by my *privy council*, which consists of five judicious friends.*

I have perused your tract on the Abrahamic Covenant, and take the liberty to suggest to your consideration what has been advanced with respect to that subject in the Repository (IV. 361). There will be another paper in support of it in the next number. If there be no such thing as two covenants, your argument must fall. Besides, I think that the apostle wrote hastily or injudiciously in what he has said on this covenant, and of Christians being the seed for whom the blessing was designed.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

London, April 21, 1786.

I GIVE you this line to inform you that I am just arrived in London and shall be very happy to see you if your business should call you hither in a fortnight, or perhaps three weeks, which is the utmost extent of my stay in London. I shall also be glad to see you at any time in Birmingham, but I shall have more leisure here; and this approaching summer I propose to make an excursion, which will probably be sudden, and I do not know which way.

The papers with which you favoured me are all safe at Mr. Johnson's, directed for you. They were submitted to my privy council, but though much approved, were not thought to be sufficiently original or important, considering the precarious state of the Repository; so that we must, in the first place, make room for things of the greatest consequence. We have no wish on any other account to decline the discussion of the question concerning baptism.†

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.‡

DEAR SIR,

London, April 28, 1786.

By this time you will have seen the number of the Repository for April, and I hope you will be pleased with it. There

* See *supra*, p. 339.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ Exeter.

is in it a paper signed *Mathetes*,* on which I shall be much obliged if you will favour me with some remarks. You answered *Moderatus* so much to my satisfaction,† and that of all my friends, that I earnestly wish you would undertake *this* also. It is a subject that deserves some notice, as many persons to my certain knowledge are disposed to adopt the sentiments of it, though, in my opinion, nothing can be more ill-founded.‡

I hope you received the copy I ordered for you of my 5th of November sermon. My "History of Opinions concerning Christ" is now published, and will probably engage me in more controversy.§ I only wish to have more learned, and more respectable antagonists than I have yet met with.

I wish to hear from you soon.||

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.¶

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 17, 1786.

I DID not write to you immediately on my arrival here, because I had nothing particular to write about.

I cannot say that I am yet set down to any serious business;

* "Who thought that a person might well reject the divine mission of Moses without weakening his attachment to Christianity." *Bretland*.

Mathetes, whose short paper is entitled "Queries concerning the Dependence of Christianity on the Jewish Revelation," (T. R. V. 289,) was Rev. Harry Toulmin. See *supra*, p. 358, note †.

† See *supra*, p. 382.

‡ Such were the sentiments of Dr. Geddes. See W. II. 120, note.

§ On the controversy with Dr. Horsley, Mr. Towgood, "four or five years before he died, never thinking himself too old to learn, or so wise as not to desire to be wiser," thus wrote to Mr. Manning:

"I shall be glad to see any future publication of theirs, for when there is a collision of two such great bodies in the ecclesiastical hemisphere, it is to be hoped some beam of light will be struck out to guide us in the way of truth." *Life of Towgood*, pp. 131, 132.

Yet Mr. Towgood was not gratified; for now, as Mr. Belsham happily remarks, "the warfare was accomplished, the prize was won, and both the contending parties retired from the field, well satisfied with the result of the conflict; Dr. Priestley with his victory, and Dr. Horsley with his mitre." *Calm Inquiry*, (1811,) p. 439. See W. XIX. 47.

|| *Orig. MS.*

¶ *Essex Street.*

but am reading some things, and preparing my laboratory for experiments. I have also been examining those passages of the fathers which Dr. Horsley appeals to, in his remarks, and find them either nothing to his purpose, or directly against him. Indeed, I am astonished at his obstinacy and blindness.

All my friends here expected from my advertisement that I would write and publish my reply immediately. If that be the case in general, I think I had better do it soon; but you, who heard more what is said about it, will judge better. To myself it is matter of indifference. I think, however, I may as well compose my reply, and so have it ready whenever it may be called for. I wish I knew when Mr. Howes would publish another number of his work,* and have some thoughts of writing to him on the subject; but I shall not do it without your approbation. I shall soon send your *Theodoret*, and may then inclose a letter to him, for your opinion.

We are soon to have a meeting here about the affairs of the Academy; but there is a strong bias with many in favour of Manchester, and a great prejudice against the idea of a large fund, which seldom answers the purpose of the founders.

All here desire to be remembered to you, and also to Mrs. Rayner. Mr. Lee is hardly with you.

I wish your journey could bring you this way. My annual interview with you is one of the greatest satisfactions I have in this life, and I could wish to have it oftener, but we must submit.

P. S. The clergy, I believe, are ashamed of what they have done about my History, and nobody feels for them.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 30, 1786.

As you set out on your journey so soon, I shall defer your parcel till about the time of your return, and then I shall not forget Dr. Disney.

I shall be governed by you in not writing to Mr. Howes, especially as his letter to me, when I wrote before, was short

* See *supra*, p. 341, note †.

† *Orig. MS.*

and haughty. But Mr. Hawkes, and all my friends here, think that an immediate reply to Dr. Horsley is absolutely necessary, in consequence of my advertisement. I did not see it in that light myself; but I find it was expected by some that I would have replied before I left London. I think also there are other reasons that will satisfy you of the propriety of it; and, as there is no time to send the MS. to you, I shall content myself with the assistance of Mr. Hawkes, who has perused it, with his usual rigour. I think my reply more decisive than before, and accordingly I write with more firmness. It will be a pamphlet of about 100 pages. I must trouble you to tell Mr. Johnson I am obliged to him for his letter, and desire him to send me the packet directed to Mr. Badcock.

The friends of the London Academy here have had a meeting, in which it was agreed to advise the choice of such tutors as should give their whole time to their duty as such, having sufficient salaries for the purpose; and that, on this account, they should not begin so soon as they had proposed. It was also thought, that ten miles from London will be a better situation than in it, or nearer to it, as it will effectually cut off all hurtful communication with it.

I thank you for all the articles of news you send me. Mrs. Price, I imagine, will hardly continue long.* I do not expect to hear much of my History from friends or enemies, of some months. If you casually hear any thing, I hope you will communicate it.

On second thoughts, I will send this in a parcel, lest Dr. Disney should think I neglect him. My best respects to him, and to you and Mrs. Lindsey, from my wife, daughter, and son.

Please to put to my account a guinea received from Mr. Russell, for a subscription to Dr. Jebb's works, and desire Mr. Johnson to do the same, for a guinea received from the Rev. Mr. Currie of Kenilworth, for a subscription to Dr. Lardner's works.†

* She died September this year. See Mr. Morgan's grateful and affectionate tribute to her memory. *Mem. of Price*, pp. 115—117.

† *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. SAMUEL PALMER.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, June 13, 1786.

I AM much obliged to you for the favour of your letter, though, using a different short hand, I was not able to read it. My friend Mr. Scholefield, who writes the same short-hand, read it to me. He will not betray the secret you mentioned, though I would not advise any person to publish any thing under the idea of its being a secret long. I had heard of your intention before, though I do not recollect from whom. I hope, however, this will not make you lay aside your design. As your scheme is not Athanasianism, Arianism, nor Socinianism, I wish much to see it well explained, as I really have no idea what it can be.

Not seeing any letter of yours in the Gentleman's Magazine, I concluded that you would write a pamphlet, and therefore have referred to it, as you will see, in a paragraph subjoined to my preface, which was printed off before I received yours. You will not offend me by avowing a different opinion from mine. Your publication† will serve me the more on that account.

I am glad that my work‡ has given you any satisfaction. Such oversights as you mention there will, no doubt, be in it; and if you, or Dr. Davies,§ will be so good as draw out a list of such faults as you shall observe, I shall take it as a particular favour, as there may, possibly, be a new edition of it, some years hence, though I do not think it probable.

My reply to Dr. Horsley is already published here, and I imagine will be in London about the time that you receive this. I shall desire Mr. Johnson to send copies to you and Dr. Davies, to whom I beg my respectful compliments. I

* Hackney, where he died, 1813, aged 72. M. R. IX. 65, 73.

† "The Calvinism of the Protestant Dissenters asserted." See W. XVIII. 276, 300 notes.

‡ Probably the "History of Early Opinions."

§ Theological Tutor at Homerton College; author of "Primitive Candour, 1785." He died 1819, aged 80. See W. XVIII. 564.

received so much pleasure from our short interview,* that I shall be happy to repeat it the first opportunity.†

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.‡

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, July 4, 1786.

As you wish to hear from me "very soon," I write immediately on the receipt of yours, to inform you that some symptoms of my old disorder have compelled me to have recourse to my vegetable diet. I am in other respects very well.

I thank you for the addition to the answer to *Mathetes*.§ It is excellent, and in point; but you will find that I could not wait for it to insert in the number now published. However, it shall appear in the next.

Having done such good service by your reply to *Moderatus* and *Mathetes*, I am desirous of engaging you to answer *Eubulus* on the Sabbath.|| There are many traces of public assemblies among Christians in the Epistles to the Corinthians, &c., which he has overlooked, and in every other respect you will find it easy to answer. I can tell you in confidence, that it comes from Mr. Evanson, who I believe makes no great secret of his opinion on the subject.¶ *Dublinsiensis*** is, I am told, a clergyman of eminence. The defence of the Jewish ritual is by myself. The remainder is printed for the next number. I should like to know what you think of the business.

Christophilos, *Symmachus*, and *Erasmus*, is Mr. Palmer, the same that I recommended to the congregation at Exeter. At my request he gave me leave to give you this information. He has been ill, or he would have finished his article in the last number. You may expect it in the next. He is an

* See *ibid. ad fin.*

† Communicated by Mr. Palmer's son, with later letters, from the originals in his possession.

‡ Exeter.

§ See *supra*, p. 386.

|| *Theol. Repos.* V. 342.

¶ See W. XXII. 330—354.

** "The Athanasian Hypothesis compared with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," *Theol. Rep.* V. 397.

excellent Scripture critic. I am quite a convert to his opinion concerning John the Baptist.* In my opinion, it throws great light on the whole of the Gospel history.

Dr. Price, I believe, will publish a volume of sermons, in which will be some on the person of Christ;† but he is slow in all his proceedings. Mr. Cappe's Psalms, I hear, are printed in a good large type. I expect them in October.

I have not seen Dr. Toulmin "On the Eternity of the World," nor have I yet read our friend Toulmin's piece on Baptism.‡ I meant no particular discovery in what I said in my late publication.

I shall be glad to hear your farther account of the *fairy rings*.

P. S. I am printing "Letters to the Jews,"§ and shall soon send you a copy. I thank you for the copy of the Grammar.|| I have no doubt that I shall like it, and wish it may answer your purpose.¶

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.

DEAR FRIEND,

July 5, 1786.

YOU will think it a long time since you have heard from me. But besides that I have made an excursion to Worcester with Mr. Russell, I waited till I could send you a copy of the

* That "his office" was "to announce Jesus to his proselytes, as one superior to himself; that would give them much fuller information concerning the kingdom of Heaven, than he could; and that should confirm his testimony by miraculous works. But, by no means was it his office to declare that Jesus was the Messiah. The Baptist himself, and our Lord's immediate disciples, were left to infer his precise character from his discourses and miracles, and the agreement of present occurrences with the the ancient prophecies" *Theol. Repos.* V. 64, 65. See W. XIII. 39.

† "Serm. I. Of the Christian Doctrine, as held by all Christians. II. By Trinitarians and Calvinists. III. By Unitarians and Socinians. IV. Of the Pre-existence and Dignity of Christ. V. Of the Character of Christ as the Saviour of the World." See W. XX. 500.

‡ "A short Essay, intended to elucidate the Question concerning the Extent and Perpetuity of its Obligation." M. R. X. 671.

§ "Pt. I., inviting them to an amicable Discussion of the Evidences of Christianity." W. XX. 227.

|| See W. XXIII. 13 *note*.

¶ *Orig. MS.*

continuation of my "Essay on the Perpetuity of the Jewish Ritual,"* and of my "Letters to the Jews." Those I intended to have sent to you in MS.; but, besides that I had only one copy, I considered it with so much care, together with Mr. Hawkes, as well as heard what my friend the Jew had to say to it, that I thought I might venture it without your seeing it. I inclose two copies, one for yourself, and the other for Mrs. Rayner. I shall order more presents when a parcel can be sent to London.

My friend here assures me that he and his countrymen will give the closest attention to it, and write in return. He seemed much pleased with the respectfulness of my address to them. I have just finished the reading of Basnage's History of the Jews, and I do not wonder at their giving no serious attention to any thing that has yet been addressed to them, and am filled with horror at the butcheries that have been made of them in all parts of the world. I shall continue to give the closest attention to this subject, and perhaps all that I have done lately may only have been preparatory to what is now before me.

Dr. Shiff, I understand, was much pleased with our visit to him. I much question whether any lettered Christian ever noticed any of their rabbis in this country before; and they will never be gained by harshness or contempt. When the bulk of the pamphlets arrive in town, I shall be obliged to you if you will instruct Mr. Johnson how to send a hundred copies to Dr. Shiff, and also to get Mr. Chambers to convey what number you think proper to the two other learned Jews he mentioned to you; though my friend here, who knows them both, says they are not equal to Dr. Shiff. I shall write to Dr. Shiff at the time. If you were to call upon him sometimes, it might have a good effect.

If you should see Mrs. Barbauld, tell her my wife thanks

* *Theol. Repos.* VI. 1—21. See W. XII. 442—482. It appears from *Origen contra Celsum*, that, in the third century, the Jews converted to Christianity continued to observe the Jewish ritual. "Judæi qui in Jesum Christum crediderunt non desciverant a patriis legibus; vivunt enim juxta eas." *Old Whig.* (1739), I. 201.

her for her obliging letter, and will write to her soon; but at present is far from being well. She has been very ill; but is now better. My own health is tolerable, though nothing to boast of.

P. S. I thank you for your kind attention to my son. However, I do assure you, Harry is as fond of reading as any of them. My daughter is returned from Cambridge. I did not see her, being at Worcester.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, July 5, 1786.

I HAVE received your reply to *Mathetes*, and like it very much; but wish you had shewn more particularly, that supposing the possibility of a person's disbelieving the inspiration of Moses, &c. on its separate evidence, yet the divine mission of Christ necessarily implies it. This, I think, you might prove from his claim to be the Messiah of the Jewish prophets; and probably from other considerations.

If any thing of this kind occur to you, I wish you would add it, as P. S. to what you have sent me. If I receive it at the beginning of the next month, it will be in time. If your sermon be sent to Mr. Johnson, it will soon reach me. I wish much to see it, especially as you say it was not universally approved, and you do not mention the subject of it.

The Scripture Lexicon that you inquire about is not any thing that can be of any use to you, as it contains hardly any thing more than an explanation of Scripture names. I can give you no assistance with respect to the Psalms you inquire about. Mr. Cappe, of York, is about printing a collection, which I hope will suit us.

I am glad that you think of expounding the Scripture to your hearers; but do not know how to describe my own method, which, after all, might not suit you. I began with the Harmony of the Gospels, then took the Book of Acts, and the Epistles, in the order in which they were written. I am now in that to the Colossians. As I preach in the course of

* *Orig. MS.*

† *Exeter.*

the same service, I do not dwell much in common practical observations, but endeavour to give the true sense, and an account of any customs and modes of speech that can throw light upon it. I particularly remark upon every thing that is favourable to the evidences of Christianity, and the doctrine of the humanity of Christ.

So far I wrote presently after receiving yours, and thought I had finished it, and sent it away; but this day find it in my portfolio. I have this day received your sermon, which I much approve, but do not expect success from. Zeal is only a consequence from a persuasion concerning the importance of particular doctrines; and where there is that persuasion, there will be proportionally less candour. I never saw an instance of any person seriously persuaded of the divinity of Christ, bearing with a minister who was an avowed Arian or Socinian. I have never observed much good to be done by preaching either zeal or candour in general, though it is right to do it. We must first convince persons of what we believe to be important truth, and then they will be most likely to feel the importance of it, and the degree of zeal with which it deserves to be urged.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your leisure.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 14, 1786.

I NOW inclose a few letters, which you will please to return as soon as convenient.

I am glad to hear of Mrs. King's release, as it will be a great relief to Mrs. Rayner. I am reduced to my vegetables; but with a prospect of good success, as the symptoms of gall-stones are now gone.

I shall be glad to see the new number of your Commentaries.‡

* *Orig. MS.*

† Essex Street, London.

‡ "Commentaries and Essays, published by the Society for promoting the Knowledge of the Scriptures," (2 vols. 8vo.) 1785—1799.

This "Society was instituted in 1783. The meetings were held at Essex-house. Among the members were Mr. Lindsey, Drs. Disney (Secretary), Jebb, Kippis, Price, Calder, Messrs. Dodson, Lee, Tayleur (who remitted

The last was particularly valuable.* If you were to write ever so often in defence of Unitarianism, you would always, I think, find something new; and it must be exhibited in every view, to counteract the attempts of the Trinitarians, who leave no stone unturned to promote their cause.

I have long had it upon my mind to write an Address to the Jews, and have now finished it,† and when it is transcribed, I will send it to you. I think to print it first in English, (it will only be a small pamphlet,) and if it be likely to do good, shall get it translated into Hebrew, by the learned Jew in this town, who has promised to do it for me. They were never addressed by an Unitarian before; so that there is some little chance of being attended to by some of them.

I have finished my Essay on the Perpetuity of the Mosaic Law, and shall put about two-thirds of it into the next number of the Repository, which will be published the first of next month. I do not expect to make many converts to my opinion.

I inclose a guinea, Mr. Russell's subscription to Dr. Jebb's Works.

Desire Mr. Johnson to send me Fell's reply to Mr. Farmer.‡ It is a subject that I give some attention to.

100*l.* for immediate use, and subscribed five guineas annually), Shore, Newton, Turner, Drs. Priestley, Toulmin, Law, (Bp. of Carlisle,) &c., about 30 or 40.

"The Society limited its object to the illustration of the Scriptures, and declined all tracts which were formal defences or confutations of specific doctrines." Dr. Jebb, in "A Sketch" prefixed to the 1st vol., "states and illustrates the *analytic* plan of interpretation which the Society proposed to pursue and to recommend.

"This Society did not flourish, and after languishing a few years, was altogether given up; not, however, without bequeathing a valuable legacy to the theological student" *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 177, 178.

* Mr. Lindsey, (*Sosipater*) contributed "An Attempt to illustrate *John* xiv. 1—3; the Illustration of Christ's last Discourse, *John* xiv. 4, to the end; concerning the Apostolic Benediction, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14; a Gleaning of Remarks on Mr. Travis's Attempt to revive the exploded Text, *John* v. 7." *Com.* I. 1, 51, 112, 511. The other contributors, besides Jebb, were Dodson, Garnham, Tyrwhitt, and Henry More.

† It does not appear to have been published till 1791. See W. XX. 275.

‡ "Dæmoniacs. An Enquiry into the Heathen and the Scripture Notion of Dæmons. By John Fell, 1779."

My wife, who is better, desires to be remembered to you both.

P. S. What are they doing about the new Academy?

I hope Mrs. Lindsey is better for the journey, though you do not mention it.*

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 6, 1786.

I THANK you for your excellent answer to *Mathetes*.‡ It will appear in the next number of the Repository, along with a supplement, by Mr. Bretland, to his former remarks§. They are both quite in point, and yet neither of them supersedes the other. The same will probably be the case with your answer to *Eubulus*.|| You will observe that several answers to the same thing do very well; and I think that, as the conductor of the work, I shall do well to avoid entering into a direct controversy in it myself, if I can well avoid it.

I am glad that my "History," and "Letters to the Jews," have given you any satisfaction. I find they are much noticed by that people in this country, but I do not expect to make any converts soon: their prejudices against Christianity are deep-rooted.

I shall be obliged to you for the piece¶ you mention on the satisfaction of Christ, especially if it be short. I do not see what you can make of the Life of Biddle. There appears to me to be no materials for it. But you must be a better judge than I am. I have no doubt you will make something useful of it.

We have been very happy in your son's company, and I should rejoice exceedingly to have such a neighbour. I do not know any young minister so promising as he seems to be. I expect great things from him, especially if, as is supposed, he be the writer of a certain article in the Repository. I doubt not he will get friends, and be happy wherever he goes.

* *Orig.* MS.

† Taunton.

‡ See *supra*, p. 386, note *.

§ T. R. VI. 39, 49.

|| *Ibid.* p. 331.

¶ "Of Love to Christ, on Unitarian Principles." *Ibid.* p. 99.

I am now busy in writing a continuation of my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever." They will probably be printed the next winter or spring.

I am just returned from an excursion to the North, from which my health has derived considerable advantage.*

TO REV. C. ROTHERAM.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Oct. 23, 1786.

ACCORDING to my promise, I send you a copy of my correspondence with Mr. Gibbon,‡ and some sermons of Mr. Graham's.

I think I likewise promised you a copy of one of Mr. Badcock's letters to me, that you might compare his former sentiments and conduct [with] his present.§ This, if I can get it done to-morrow, shall go with this parcel; if not, at some future opportunity.

I returned home quite free from any indisposition, and, I thank God, continue quite well. Since my return, I have applied to my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," and hope to have them ready for the press in a few weeks.

I do not find that any Jews in England will reply to my Letters to them, though I am told they are universally read among them; but they say I shall probably have an answer from a Jew at Vienna. I am happy, however, to have gained the attention of the Jews; and if it be kept up, some good may in time come of it.

I beg my respectful compliments to Dr. Ainslie, and also to your niece, though unknown.||

TO DR. PRICE.¶

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 23, 1786.

I AM happy to find that your mind grows more composed after the severe stroke under which you suffer.** I doubt not

* *Orig.* MS.

† Kendal.

‡ See W. XVII. 533.

§ See W. XIX. 533.

|| *Orig.* MS.

¶ Newington Green.

** The death of Mrs. Price. See *supra*, p. 388.

but that in time you will gain a great degree of tranquillity, and will be able to pass the remainder of life with much satisfaction and comfort. I shall rejoice in any plan of life that is most favourable to your enjoyment of it, but should think that an occasional excursion from London must have a good effect.

Your retirement from the pulpit for some time is certainly very proper; but I would not have you as yet think of doing it altogether. You have still great vigour of constitution, and can hardly employ it better, and it may even have a greater effect if you be not confined to constant duty.

You have probably seen a letter I wrote to Dr. Kippis, containing some ideas of mine with respect to the plan of the intended academy. He told me he would send it to Mr. Rogers. I should be glad to hear your thoughts on the subject. I shall send Mr. Lindsey a copy of it, and in that way you will have an opportunity of seeing it. Much will depend upon setting out well, and I hope that the hints I have taken the liberty to suggest will not pass without due consideration.

As I value your happiness, I cannot help being concerned at the idea of your engaging in so troublesome and laborious a business as that of a tutor. You can hardly have a just idea what it is. An occasional discourse from a person of your character might have an excellent effect. It would better become your dignity, and you might always choose your subject: but I ramble too much.*

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND.†

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 28, 1786.

I HAVE sent the article you were so obliging as to send me, to the printer, by which you will judge that I approve of it. I hope the remainder will arrive in due time. I do not think there will be any occasion for me to appear in this controversy. Nobody can do it better than you will.

Mr. Temple wrote a pamphlet or two in answer to Mr. Burgh, of York.‡ He is an Arian. I saw him once at Rich-

* *Orig.* MS.

† Exeter.

‡ "A member of the Irish Parliament," author of a "Scriptural Con-

mond, in Yorkshire, where he is master of the free-school, and I think preaches in that neighbourhood.*

I hope the learned and ingenious neighbour you speak of will "in time" be sufficiently composed to draw up the article you mention. I hope you will not fail to urge and encourage him. I am very sorry for his situation, though you do not mention any particulars.

I know no particular reason why my late History has not been noticed in the Review. Mr. Badcock is, I believe, still a writer in it, but no friend of mine has any connexion with it, or can give me any intelligence about it. Indeed, I make no inquiry, as *my* measures are taken, and I suppose *theirs*.

I know very little of the Manchester academy, and still less of Mr. Pope.† They have erected a building at Manchester, and have made a beginning with, I hear, (but reports are very various,) about ten pupils, but none for the ministry.

Dr. Horne, of Oxford, is publishing two sermons against me, by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury.‡ I have them, and like the spirit of them so much, that I think I shall address a few letters to him.§ He promises a larger work on the subject of the Trinity.||

futation of the Arguments against the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, produced by the Rev. Mr. Lindsey, in his late Apology." See Mr. Lindsey's *Sequel*, (1776,) p. vi.; *Mem. of Lindsey*, pp. 129—131.

* Mr. Lindsey to Mr. Bretland, "Nov. 25," besides these notices of Mr. Temple, says, "he is vicar of Easeby, and the author of a small tract relating to the Logos, in which he defends the Arian sentiment, in opposition to something I had advanced, and of other lesser pieces, and is certainly a scholar, as you observe, as well as an honest man." Mr. Lindsey adds,

"There is already published a sort of answer to Dr. Priestley's late work, entitled 'Four Dialogues on the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity,' by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, of Canterbury. [W. XVIII. 490.] But we are told of another great and elaborate confutation being in the press, but from whom is not said. The doctor has heard of it, and is not afraid of this blow. He is printing another number of the Theological Repository, and will have in it half of a valuable answer to *Eubulus*, and to *Mathetes* two good answers." *Orig. MS.*

† Afterwards tutor of the New College, Hackney.

‡ "The Duty of Contending for the Faith," and "a Discourse on the Trinity in Unity."

§ See W. XVIII. 322.

|| *Orig. MS.*

TO DR. PRICE.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Jan. 7, 1787.

I HAVE received the valuable present of your sermons,† and cannot express how much I admire the greater part of them, especially the first; but indeed, in every thing that relates to candour, I never expect to find your equal. The discourse on the resurrection of Lazarus is very excellent. I wish all our unbelievers would read it.

These sermons of yours are sure to be universally read, and cannot fail to make a great impression; and as your defence of Arianism is calculated to strike the generality of your readers, who are now attentive to the subject, we Socinians cannot but think ourselves called upon to make some reply; and though you may not choose to enter into the controversy, others may be induced to take it up.

Your very particular and highly respectful notice of me,‡ by which I think myself highly honoured, will be thought to be a call upon me to say something in defence of what I have advanced; and as you have no object but truth, I am confident you will not be displeased if I address a friendly letter to yourself, at the close of some that I have written to Dr. Horne. It is so seldom that controversy is conducted with decency and propriety, as becomes Christians, that I think a fair opportunity of giving a specimen should not be omitted. We have already given one example of this, which I hope has had its use; and you may be assured that this letter will not be inferior to any thing that I have ever written in personal respect.

I am glad to have an opportunity of writing in a respectful manner to Dr. Horne,§ and at the same time I address the

* Newington Green.

† See *supra*, p. 391.

‡ As “a modern Socinian of the first character and ability, whose candour appears to be such as will not suffer him to evade any fair inference from his opinions.” Again, as “a highly valued friend, and one of the most distinguished writers of the present times.” *Sermons*, (1787,) *Ed.* 2, pp. 128, 130, 142, *notes*.

§ See the conclusion, “March 1, 1787.” W. XVIII. 245.

students for the ministry at the two universities.* These letters are very serious, and, though without any just cause, will perhaps give more offence than any thing that I have yet published of this kind.

I am printing my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," but we are hindered by the reprinting of the former letters, in order to make the whole one volume. With this work I have taken a good deal of pains; and yet I cannot say that I am at all sanguine in my expectations from it. Unbelievers will not read these things. However, if the faith of believers, who will read, be strengthened, a good end will be answered.

I have lost a valuable friend and assistant in the conduct of the Repository, in Mr. Palmer, who was buried on Monday last. To-morrow I preach a funeral sermon for him. The suddenness of his death is a striking warning to be always ready.†

P. S. Mrs. Priestley desires her affectionate respects. I expect my daughter‡ soon. She is, to all appearance, very happily connected.§

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND ||.

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 17, 1787.

I HAVE printed my letters to Dr. Horne, Dr. Price, &c.,¶ and have ordered Mr. Johnson to send you a copy, so that I hope you will receive it soon. When you have read it, I shall be glad to hear from you, and at that time I shall probably be in London, as I propose to set out on Monday sen'night, and shall probably stay three Sundays. I am printing another number of the Repository, the first article of which is the remainder of your answer to *Eubulus*.** Most of the other articles are curious, but they will generally be thought too bold. I

* On "Subscription, the Study of the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Difficulties attending an Open Acknowledgment of Truth," &c. *Ibid.* pp. 345, 349, 352.

† See *supra*, pp. 334, note †, 355, 380 note*.

‡ See *supra*, p. 49.

§ Orig. MS.

|| Exeter.

¶ See "Defences of Unitarianism, for the year 1786." W. XVIII. 317.

** See *supra*, pp. 390, 398.

cannot now look back to the date of the subscriptions, for which I am much obliged to you; but I think it wrong to take of Dissenting ministers. I think to finish this volume, and then make a longer pause, that the sale may, if possible, indemnify me. It is a scheme that I will not abandon if I can keep it up.

I have printed those Letters to Unbelievers which relate to the evidences of Christianity.* I believe I shall set about compiling a set of Psalms on my return from London.

I can give you no particular advice about your Sunday-schools. I have reprinted my small catechism, with some improvements. *Gastrell*† will not at all answer your purpose. I hear that young Mr. Toulmin is about to print an excellent scriptural catechism. Mr. Lindsey has seen it.

I shall be very happy to see your answer to Mr. Lamport.‡

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.§

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 20, 1787.*

I TAKE this opportunity, by means of Mr. Kenrick, to inclose a letter for Mr. French, at Ware, which I beg you would forward to him, together with a copy of my Letters to Dr. Horne, &c. I also inclose Mr. Tayleur's and Mr. F——'s letters. How carefully the latter avoids giving his opinion on the subject of Arianism!

I have a letter from Mr. Robson, of Newcastle, that will please you; but as I wish to shew it to Mr. Russell, I will bring it with me. I now fully intend to be with you on Tuesday next, and shall call upon you before I go any where else, getting out of the coach at the turnstile, or rather in Oxford Street, where I remember the coach always waits a long time. I need not say that I promise myself much pleasure from our interview; but we must not forget that there is no earthly happiness that is not subject to disappointment and alloy.

I wish you would inform Mr. Johnson that I have not yet

* See "Letters, Part II." W. IV. 444.

† "Christian Institutes, 1707." He was Bishop of Chester, 1714—1726.

‡ *Orig. MS.*

§ Essex Street.

received the books he said he had got for me out of various catalogues. I put into the parcel the new edition of my Letters to the Jews.

The Repository will be printed off this week, but it will sufficiently appear that the very bold article is not mine, by other articles that are so. I shall have two, one on "Difficulties in the Interpretation of some Prophecies," and the other, an account of Mr. Palmer and his articles, intended for the Repository, the former signed *Pamphilus*, and the latter with my own name.* I forewarn you that *Idiota*† will stagger even yourself, and much more the other "strong-minded" persons you speak of in London. We in the country think they must be men of strong minds indeed, who can believe that any *mere man* is naturally *impeccable* or *infallible*; but, as you say, more of this when we meet.

I have lately composed two sermons, which I intend to give you. I have another on the anvil, and intend to compose more, a kind of *suite*, on the spirit and influence of the gospel.

I hear that Dr. Horsley is publishing on the subject of the Test Act. I hope he will be properly and speedily answered. I wish Mr. Walker, of Nottingham, would do it. He would do it with spirit.‡

I shall hope to hear from you before I set out. I have not yet heard of the arrival of the Letters.§

TO REV. JOSHUA TOULMIN.||

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, March 24, 1787.

I OUGHT to have answered your obliging letter much sooner, but I had nothing to say of any consequence.

You will soon see the remainder of Mr. Bretland's paper in

* *Theol. Repos.* VI. 203, 217; W. VII. 447; XIX. 523.

† The late Mr. Garnham, of Bury, Suffolk. Dr. Priestley's letters to Mr. Garnham, by the favour of his executor, will appear in the later correspondence. The article of *Idiota* was entitled "An Inquiry into the Time at which the Kingdom of Heaven will commence." *Theol. Repos.* VI. 244.

‡ He published, 1790, "The Appeal of the Dissenters to the Justice, Honour, and Religion of the Kingdom." See W. XIX. 463.

§ *Orig.* MS.

|| Taunton.

answer to *Eubulus*, and if you think any thing omitted by him, you may supply the defect in a paper of yours. I have just printed another number, to be published the first of September. It contains several curious but very bold articles.

I thank you for the communication relating to *Mathetes*. As your son is a most ingenuous young man, he must, I think, be satisfied with your answer, and that of Mr. Bretland, and he would do himself great credit if, under the same signature, he would frankly acknowledge it. I am glad to hear he is settled at Chowbent, as it is, I believe, an agreeable situation, and the congregation very liberal. I should have been very happy indeed to have had him so near me as in Birmingham.

I have desired Mr. Johnson to send you a copy of my Letters to Dr. Horne, Dr. Price, &c., which I hope you have by this time received.

I am glad to hear that your Life of Biddle is nearly finished. I hope it will be useful; but if you could have finished the larger historical work you had in view some time ago, it would have been of more importance to the cause of free inquiry.

A Jew, I hear, is writing an answer to my Letters to his nation, viz, David Levi, author of the *Ceremonies, &c., of the Jews*, published about two years ago. I have reprinted my Letters, with some additions, but not very considerable.

Mr. Hawkes agrees with me in thinking there is nothing new or very important in Dr. Jeffries's* tract, and therefore I do not print it. I shall bring it with me to London, where I hope to be, the beginning of the next month, and shall leave it with Mr. Johnson, directed for you.

A considerable time ago I had a letter from Mr. Twining, in which he says he has sent me a pamphlet by Mr. Johnson;

* A Unitarian General Baptist minister in London, with whom, and whose family connexions, I was in early life well acquainted. (See *supra*, p. 215, note §.) "About 1767 he was elected professor of civil law at Gresham College, the first instance of a Dissenting minister being chosen. Dr. John Ward was a lay gentleman."

Dr. Jeffries "was one of those," says Dr. Toulmin, "who conducted the application of the Dissenting ministers to Parliament, and assisted this measure with zeal and generosity." He died, 1784, aged 58. *Prot. Diss. Mag.* VI. 3—9.

but though I have written repeatedly about it, I have not yet got it, nor have I seen it advertised, or I would have bought it.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND, *Birmingham, March 24, 1787.*

I HOPE you would receive mine by Mr. Kenrick soon after you wrote your last. I still keep the same resolution, so that I hope to knock at your door between one and two (perhaps sooner) on Tuesday next. This I hope to send by the coach, along with a copy of the Repository, which we have just printed off; and this is not a day on which I can write by the post.

I shall immediately shew Mr. Russell your letter; but I believe he has done all he can in the business, so that it must take its chance. Our disappointment‡ will at least give occasion to such publications as will give us some advantage in the eyes of the more sensible part of the public, and may in time make our adversaries ashamed. As to the thing itself, it would certainly be honourable to the country; but, as a Christian, I am not much concerned about it. It may not be amiss that there should be some things to remind Dissenters that they are not of this world. In too many particulars they are sufficiently conformed to it, and favoured by it.

I do not envy the bishops and Dr. Horsley their present triumph. They have not the peace and satisfaction of mind that we have; and it is too much to expect to enjoy *our* advantages and theirs too. Ours is infinitely the better portion, and surely we ought to be thankful for it as such.

I shall be glad to see Dr. Towers's abridgment of Hoadley's Tract,§ though I have never read it, and indeed hardly any thing of Hoadley's. What I have read of his appeared tedious.

* *Orig.* MS.

† Essex Street.

‡ The motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts had just now been negatived by 178 against 100. See W. X. 493.

§ In defence of the repeal, against Sherlock.

You will perhaps smile at a work I think I may possibly undertake, merely because it is much wanted, an Ecclesiastical History, at least of some of the first centuries. All that we have are on Trinitarian principles, and impress all readers in favour of them. I think, too, it may be so drawn up, as to be sufficiently interesting, and not very long or tedious. When I see you, I shall talk with you about this, and some other schemes.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 6, 1787.

I HOPE you received the packet I sent you by Mr. Johnson, inclosing a letter to you. I have just received a letter from Mr. Hinton, of Oxford, in which he says "the Undergraduate's Letter† is much extolled," which is the very thing I wished to hear, as it gives a greater propriety to an answer. I would not have you hurry yourself at all, but I think you should be ready‡ in about a month. It should not, I still think, be printed *here*, because, as it is anonymous, it will then be laid to my door. I wish also you would be rather sparing in your compliments, lest it should be said on discovery that we play into one another's hands.

When I paid Mrs. Lindsey for the eight subscriptions to Mr. Maty's§ sermons, I forgot to take the receipts, to give to the persons who gave me the money.

* *Orig. MS.*

† "To Dr. Priestley," written by Dr. Horne. See W. XVIII. 497.

‡ With "*Vindiciæ Priestleyanæ*, An Address to the Students at Oxford and Cambridge." *Mém. of Lindsey*, p. 197. See W. XVIII. 499, *note*.

§ Rev. Paul Henry Maty died this year, (1787,) aged 42. He had been a librarian of the British Museum, and secretary of the Royal Society, and had carried on (1782—1786) "A new Review, with Literary Curiosities."

Mr. Maty, in 1777, published in *Gent. Mag.* for October, (p. 466,) his reasons for withdrawing from the ministry of the Church of England. He justly regarded her articles as Calvinistic, and rejected them as unscriptural. As to "what is the true scripture doctrine of the Trinity," he says, "I see no sufficient proof of the Athanasian, and rather incline to the Arian hypothesis." On this declaration Mr. Lindsey remarks,

"His modesty is herein very conspicuous, as is the moderation of his mind; for he drops not the least intimation of his relinquishing a situation

Mr. Hinton had disposed of all the pamphlets I had given him, and I have now sent him a large parcel more, and among them my *Disquisitions*. I gave him before my “*History of Early Opinions*,” to lend to the more learned. Suppose you send him some of your works, especially your “*Examination of Mr. Robinson’s Plea*.”* I wish there were a Unitarian chapel at Oxford, where your liturgy might be used.

I hope to hear from you soon.

P. S. I had not a sufficient number of my “*General View of the Arguments*,”† to send Mr. Hinton. I wish you would desire Mr. Johnson to send him a dozen copies. His direction is in the Corn Market, Oxford.

I did not, till yesterday, find out your kindness to my son. Your generosity has no bounds, and really makes me ashamed.

I beg my particular respects to Dr. Blackburne.

Mr. Hinton says “*Dr. Horne’s book*‡ is in the press, and that great things are expected from it.”§

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, May 29, 1787.

I HAVE such perfect confidence in your judgment, that I

out of a principle of conscience, which was the natural, unfailing road to great emoluments and dignities in the church, sometimes to the very highest, as he was at the time chaplain to Lord Stormont, the English ambassador at Paris.” See “*Historical View of the Unitarian Doctrine*,” (1783,) pp. 515—525.

The father of P. H. Maty, a native of Holland, who became “an eminent physician, critic, and miscellaneous writer,” was also “secretary of the Royal Society, and principal librarian of the British Museum. He died, 1776.” He had published at the Hague, (1750—1755,) *Journal Britannique*, a French Review of English publications, for the use of foreigners. Michael de la Roche’s “*Bibliothèque Angloise ou l’Histoire Littéraire de la Grande Bretagne*,” *Amst.*, (1717—1727,) had the same design.

* See *supra*, p. 365, note; *Mem of Lindsey*, pp. 179—196.

† “For the Unity of God, and against the Divinity and Pre-existence of Christ, from Reason, from the Scriptures, and from History, 1783.” See W. XVIII. 451, 513, 517, 527.

‡ See *supra*, p. 399.

§ *Orig. MS.*

cannot but approve and thank you for the step you have taken, though I cannot say that I think a letter to the Gentleman's Magazine would have been less proper, and it would have been less expensive. My former declaration was annexed to an advertisement of a book, therefore shewed less alarm than the present, and there is, in truth, less cause for it. A more peevish and ill-judged performance than Mr. Howes's I hardly ever saw. I shall be in no haste to reply; and the more the adversary triumphs in it, the more satisfaction it will give me. As to those who decide against any cause, on account of an inconsiderable mistake in the defenders of it, I do not wish to have them with me. Let them have their proper punishment by continuing in their present ignorance. They love darkness rather than light, and let them have it.

I am now busy in preparing my Lectures on History, and making experiments; and about a month hence I shall think of Mr. Howes, though I may perhaps send you a letter for the Gentleman's Magazine the next month. I really think that a better measure than advertising, on many accounts; but I shall submit to your better judgment. Mr. Howes's scheme is really too silly to deserve notice, and his arguments are weak in the extreme. They are even more contemptible than those of Dr. Horsley.

I beg my respects and thanks to Mr. Reynolds* for his kind benefaction. I did not know that he meant it to be annual. I hear nothing of Mr. Shore†. Have you heard any more of his offence at my Letter to Mr. Pitt‡ I think Dr. Price's

* See *supra*, p. 215.

† See *ibid.*

‡ "On the subjects of Toleration and Church Establishments, occasioned by his Speech against the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, March 28, 1787." The Letter, as I have understood, was written almost immediately on Dr. Priestley's return from the House of Commons. (See *supra*, p. 383, *note*.) In "Letter X., to the Inhabitants of Birmingham," he says, this "Letter greatly displeased the Dissenters in general, and many of my own particular friends, those whom I have reason to value the most, have not yet forgiven it; but my whole history shews that it has not been my custom to court popularity, even among the Dissenters." See W. XIX. 111, 213.

sermon* justifies my letter, and will give as much offence. I admire it very much.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 11, 1787.

I TAKE the opportunity of Mr. Finch's going to town, to give you these few lines.

On Sunday I sent you a letter for the Gentleman's Magazine, which, I hope, has come to hand, and shall be glad to know whether it can be inserted.‡ I think also to advertise my History on the cover of the Monthly Review, with a short notice respecting Mr. Howes. I shall send it to you in time. By proceeding in this manner, one pamphlet in the course of the year may answer our purpose, perhaps better than more. It will shew that we are not disturbed with hasty censures, and trust to serious argument. Mr. Howes is certainly entitled to no sort of respect.§

I have received David Levi's Letters. They are below my expectation; so much so, that I hardly think it will be worth

* "The Evidence of a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind, a Discourse, April 25, 1787, to the Supporters of a New Academical Institution among Protestant Dissenters."

The preacher anticipates the "separating religion from civil policy, and emancipating the human mind from the chains of church authority and church establishments, by the downfall of all slavish and antichristian hierarchies."

What follows may now (Oct. 8, 1831) be read with an interest and national appropriation which could scarcely have been felt in 1787. *Longo post tempore venit libertas.*

"They are, by certain prophecy, destined to destruction. The liberality of the times has already loosened their foundations. The obstinacy of their adherents is increasing their danger; and the wise and virtuous of all descriptions should make themselves willing instruments in the hands of Providence to hasten their removal, not by any methods of violence, but by the diffusion of knowledge, and the quiet influence of reason and conviction." See W. XX. 501; *supra*, p. 291, note †.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ See *Gent. Mag.* LVII. 462; W. XVIII. 426.

§ With equal effrontery and injustice, he had represented Dr. Priestley "as a man destitute of all regard to truth, and aiming at the emoluments of the Established Church." See W. XVIII. 426, *ad fin.*

while to reply to them; but give notice that I hope to receive something more to the purpose. I shall draw up something, and send it you soon. You will hear what is said of it.*

I have received Dr. Jebb's Works. It is much beyond my expectation, and does Dr. Disney much credit. Mr. Russell says that in writing the Life he must have been assisted by you.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, June 17, 1787.

I FEAR I give you too much trouble by sending you my papers. But I cannot satisfy myself, if, in matters of controversy, I do not submit my pieces to your better judgment.

On second thoughts, I am of opinion, that it will be right to take the opportunity of Mr. Levi's Answer, poor as it is, to address the Jews once more. It will tend to keep up their attention, and may bring forth something of more value. But if you have leisure, peruse what I send, and give me your opinion.

I have talked with Mr. Hawkes about the case of Mr. Dinwiddie, and we are clear he cannot be ordained *here*. In my opinion, it had best be done in your own chapel; and if you think it is of any consequence, I would attend and take any part that should be thought proper. To ordain an *Unitarian* minister, *as such*, may be of consequence, and have some effect. Your meeting is the proper place, as the head-quarters of Unitarianism, the great mother-church; and which I hope will have many daughters.

You will see that I have not quite concluded my last letter; but I have nothing very material to add. Please to return the MS. as soon as you conveniently can.

* Mr. Lindsey, "July 7" writes to Mr. Bretland: "You will find David Levi's, the Jew's answer to Dr. Priestley, a very indifferent performance. One is glad, however, that real Jews answer, as that may bring them in by degrees to the discussion of the question. A fictitious one has published a Letter to Dr. Priestley, at Oxford, full only of passion and low, unanswerable scurrility." *Orig. MS.* See "Solomon de A. R." *Gent. Mag.* LVII, 620.

† *Orig. MS.*

Our charity sermon is to be preached by Mr. Yates, of Liverpool,* next Sunday.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 14, 1787.

I HAVE been rather unfortunate, twice together, in sending parcels which arrived just after you had set out on a week's excursion. In neither case, however, was it of much consequence. By this time I hope you have received my second set of "Letters to the Jews."‡ with the accounts of the presents of them. Add any others that may occur to you, and please to send one to Mr. Maseres.§

As Mr. Nicholls has obliged me by inserting my letter, I send the inclosed, which, if you please, you may send him. I have no objection to *his* knowing that they come from me; but I would not have him print my name on the occasion. I send you the originals, which you will please to return. If it will gratify Mr. Nicholls, they may be shewn to him or any of his friends.

I thank you much for Mr. Christie's letter, and am glad that he gives so good an account of Mr. Palmer,|| whose letter to me I think I inclosed in my last. I hope things are ripen-

* Where, on his resignation in 1823, he had been minister "for 46 years." See "A Testimony of Respect, by his Congregation," M. R. XVIII. 610. Mr. Yates died, 1826, aged 71. *Ibid.* XXI. 693.

† *Orig.* MS.

‡ W. XX. 251.

§ "Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer," an eminent mathematician and a very liberal politician. He died 1824, aged 93. "His religious creed" he was thus "used very frequently" to describe:

"There are three creeds, he would say, that are generally acknowledged in the Christian world, contradictory in several respects to each other, and two of them composed by nobody knows whom, and nobody knows where. My creed is derived from my Saviour, and the time when and the manner in which it was uttered, gives it a title to pre-eminence. A few hours before his death, in an address to his Father, Christ says, 'This is eternal life, to know thee, the only true God; and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.' This is my creed, and happy would it be for the Christian world if it had been content with it, and never laid down any other articles for a common faith." *Gent. Mag.* See M. R. XIX. 364, 425.

|| See *supra*, p. 352, *note*.

ing to some good issue ; but in the present state of things, time is requisite. If the Establishment were out of the way, Unitarianism would have a rapid spread.

Mr. Madan, I see, has published some letters to me.* Perhaps he will send them to me. I see another piece from a country parson.† If these, or any other, be worth my notice, I hope you will inform me.

I have so much to do in printing, that I shall not be able to leave Birmingham these three months. After this I shall perhaps take a ride, with Mr. Russell, to Bristol and South Wales, to call upon my son Henry, who will be with Mr. Estlin, and to see Mr. Morris, who has written to me twice, to desire that something may be done to establish an Unitarian interest at Swansea,‡ where he lives. I do not fancy the man ; but Mr. Russell thinks favourably of him. He proposes to give a hundred pounds towards building a place of worship. Perhaps, on finding that things are not yet ripe for *that*, he may do something in another way. Mr. Russell is intent on a subscription to support the cause in general, and will cheerfully give twenty pounds a-year, or more, if it be wanted.

I have sent for the pamphlet you recommend, written by the Arian. I am glad to hear of the bequest to Mrs. Jebb ; and that my letter to Mr. Pitt is approved by *any*. I suspect I shall be a considerable loser by it, perhaps in consequence of saying “ I did not want any thing that the minister could do for me.”§ But this does not make me repent of what I did.

I am very busy in my experiments, though I am not doing

* See *Gent. Mag.* LVII. 620 ; W. XVIII. 426, 491.

† Described, on his title-page, as “ one who is not LLD. F.R.S. *Ac Imp. Petrop*, but a country parson.” *M. Rev.* LXXVII. 419.

‡ Where, I understand, it still existed, as it had done for several years, in the Arian connexion.

§ “ Thus, Sir, you are in possession of the free sentiments of a citizen of this free country, those of a man who has no interest but in the reputation and flourishing state of it ; who has honestly endeavoured to do every thing in his power to add to its reputation, without seeking its emoluments ; who wants nothing that you, Sir, as the prime minister of his country, can give him ; and who has done nothing for which he apprehends he has any thing to fear. Let what he has freely proposed be impartially considered.” W. XIX. 132, 133.

any thing of particular consequence. To amuse me I read *Thuanus*, and I shall set about the Ecclesiastical History in good earnest, as soon as I have gone over my Lectures on History once more, to finish them for the press.

I should have been very happy to have spent the week with you at Mrs. Rayner's; but we cannot always be where we wish. If you and Mrs. Lindsey should make an excursion this way, you would make us very happy. My wife is pretty well.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, July 27, 1787.

I HAVE received the two tracts for Mr. Russell; but not Mr. Wiche's piece† for myself. If you call again, I dare say you will still find it at Mr. Johnson's. The great Doctor's, which, at your recommendation, I sent for, is a poor business indeed. Mr. Madan's, which he sent me, is the most violent and menacing that I have yet seen.‡

The Bishop of our diocese was here last Sunday, confirming, and to each person confirmed, he gave a small tract on confirmation, and another against Socinianism, and myself (as I am told) in particular. I have not yet seen it.

* *Orig. MS.*

† "Observations on the Debate now in agitation concerning the Divine Unity; in a Letter addressed to the Rev. E. W. Whittaker, of Canterbury, 1787." (See *supra*, p. 399; W. XVIII. 490, *note.*) *Prot. Dis. Mag.* 1797, IV. 130. Of Mr. Wiche, who died 1794, aged 75, see *supra*, pp. 69, *note*, &c.

Dr. Toulmin, who no doubt communicated the biographical article signed J. T., ascribes to Mr. Wiche (*Nazaræus*) "Observations favouring the Miraculous Conception." *Theol. Repos.* V. 83. These Mr. Belsham has since assigned to Mr. Cappe. (*Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 235, *note.*) Yet Mrs. Cappe has not mentioned them in her *Mem. of N. Cappe*.

‡ "After insisting on several well-known arguments in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, chiefly drawn from the Old Testament, Mr. Madan proceeds to pour forth many grievous lamentations over the undone condition of his deluded antagonist. He addresses him as a lost sinner, who is wholly unacquainted with the saving doctrine of imputed righteousness, and tells him that the time will come when he would give the whole world for one glimpse of this great mystery of godliness. In short, he sentences the poor Doctor to pains and penalties in this world, and to eternal damnation in the next." *Mon. Rev.* LXXVII, 419.

I long much to see M. A;* yet think I should not see it before it be printed. I hope it will not be unnecessarily delayed. My own reply to Mr. Howes, &c., may rest till the winter. If he makes no reply to my letter in the Gentleman's Magazine, I shall send him (open to you,) a private letter, to inform him that there is such a letter, &c., and that it behoves him to take some notice of it. Such conduct as his and Dr. Horsley's must be exposed, as an example to others.

Mr. Christie's letter to you was given to Mr. Tayleur. I sent him last week a second from Mr. Palmer, with directions to send it to you.

I am glad of your opportunity of giving a living;† as it is another evident proof of your disinterestedness.

With this you will receive two copies of my sermon,‡ and of another number of the Repository, one for yourself, and another for Mrs. Rayner. I also inclose a list of presents, and wish you to add any others that occur to you. I thank you for thinking of Mr. Constable.§ This I think not so proper for him; but do as you think right.

I thank you for your kind attention to my interest. Though disappointed, I shall do very well. All things are sure to be right ultimately.

I hope to have made considerable progress in my Ecclesiastical History before I see you in the spring. We are waiting for paper to print the Lectures on History. They will employ us between three and four months; but I have little more to do to them.

My wife is out on a little tour with Miss Vaughan and Mr. W. Vaughan to see the iron bridge, &c. I expect their return to-morrow.||

* Referring to Mr. Lindsey's academical title, under which he proposed his "Address," *Vindiciæ Priestleyanæ*, published 1788. *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 196. See *supra*, p. 406, note †.

† That, I apprehend, "near Bristol," of which "the next presentation" had been "bequeathed to him, without his knowledge," by "Mrs. Pearce, a friend of the Duchess of Northumberland." *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 9, note.

‡ During 1787, Dr. Priestley published five Sermons. See W. XV. 146—190.

§ See *supra*, p. 214.

|| *Orig. MS.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Aug. 26, 1787.

I NOW think it a long time indeed since your last, which was from Richmond, and in which you said you hoped to be in London in ten days, and should then write again.

The Archdeacon had, indeed, an euthanasia,* and I find his friend, the Bishop of Carlisle, died about the same time, and about the same age.† They have been useful men in their day, and you justly observe, none are without their failings, and least of all great minds. This I see confirmed, and I am sorry to see it so much so, in Beausobre's History of the Reformation,‡ which I have read through with peculiar satisfaction. Luther had great defects indeed, and of a very disagreeable kind, especially envy, and dislike of other Reformers. He wished all to follow him, and was angry if they went one step farther. His behaviour to Carlostadt§ and Zuinglius,|| &c. is inexcusable. But he had great and good qualities notwithstanding, and would, I doubt not, have been an intrepid martyr.

* See *supra*, p. 81, note*.

† See W. III. 378, note †; M. R. XIII. 289.

‡ The 1st volume, to 1520, was translated, 1801, by "Dr. Macaulay.

§ "Violà comment étoit prêché le nouvel Evangile," is the shrewd remark of a Catholic biographer. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.*, (1789,) II. 400.

|| "He has been unjustly defamed," says Beausobre, "not only by the Catholics, but by those who, being engaged themselves in the same design, ought to have done him the more justice. But pride, envy, and malice, enter especially into the soul of those men, who, uniting fortunate issues with great talents, are desirous of bearing rule every where, and cannot endure the smallest contradiction. This is what Zuinglius has experienced from Luther and his followers." *History*, I. 266.

Zuinglius, it appears, had offended the self-importance of the German reformer, by counselling Christians to "call no man on earth, master." His language (*Opera*, I. 38,) is thus rendered by Dr. Macaulay:

"Let no man inquire of another whether he is a Lutheran. Let him rather inquire what his sentiments are concerning the doctrine of Christ; how far he is pleased, how far he is delighted, with the Word of God. Let him inquire whether he is a *Christian*, that is, whether he be incessantly employed in good works, towards God and towards man. For he alone is properly to be called a Christian, who, with indefatigable zeal, labours in doing what is right and fitting, in respect to God, and in respect to his neighbour." *Ibid.* pp. 265, 266, note.

Beausobre is far more satisfactory than Sleidan; but I am sorry that he goes no further than the year 1530. He certainly meant to have written more. The last volume is particularly interesting.*

To-morrow I and my wife set out on a journey to Castlehead, where I spent a month about this time the last year, and from which I returned so much recruited. I hope for the same benefit now, though I have not so much to complain of as I had then; and yet I have some unpleasant symptoms. I propose to be absent three Sundays, which is near a month, and shall write to you when I have been there about a week. In the mean time, I shall be happy to hear from you (Castle Head, near Lancaster). Then your letters will be peculiarly acceptable, as I shall be almost out of the world, and hear nothing. I do not mean, however, to be quite idle. On my journey the last year, I wrote the greatest part of my "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," and though I do not intend to do much, I hope to find time to do something, at least in reading.

I shall be glad to see the Archdeacon's posthumous pieces, especially the Memoirs of himself;† though I hope there will be nothing about me in them. I am sorry to see you left out in the management of that affair; though I doubt not we may confide in the prudence of those who have the trust.

I really never read Mr. Christie's sermons, they were so wretchedly printed. Your own Catechist would be a much better thing to distribute, and extracts from your other writings. In a letter from Mr. Palmer in Scotland, you will see he corresponds with Mr. Robinson, of Cambridge, as an avowed Unitarian. But he ought to make a public declaration, after what he has written.‡

P. S. Give my particular respects to Mrs. Rayner. I wish

* Besides this History of the Reformation, Beausobre left among his MSS., probably never published, "*Histoire des Préliminaires de la Réformation.*" See *Ibid.* p. xxxi.

† See *supra*, p. 81, *note*†.

‡ "A Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1776." See *supra*, p. 365 *note*, 407; W. XV. 416.

much to know how she does. Perhaps you may have seen Mr. Shore on your journey, and may know how he is disposed with respect to me.*

My wife and son desire to be remembered to you. He is very thankful for your kind notice of him. I hope he will do very well.†

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Castle-head, Sept. 9, 1787.

YOU made me very happy by the receipt of your letter, especially as it gave me an account of you and Mrs. Lindsey recovering your fatigue and health. I hope you will continue to live so agreeably as you do, some time longer, whatever become of Dr. Horne. Let him enjoy his triumph, provided you enjoy your health.

By your account of Dr. Price's Appendix,‡ it may be proper for me to take some notice of it in my next annual pamphlet on the subject of this controversy. If I had his book here, I could very conveniently do every thing I wish with respect to it. I brought Dr. Geddes's pamphlet§ with me; and have written and transcribed my answer to it. I have the fullest confidence that you will not be displeased with it. He has given me great advantage indeed.||

* See *supra*, p. 408.

† *Orig. MS.*

‡ See his respectful and affectionate dedication to Dr. Priestley, from Hackney, July 17, 1787," W. XVIII. 446, *note*.

§ "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley, in which the author attempts to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity: 1787." See Good's *Mem. of Geddes*, pp. 168—175; W. XVIII. 428.

|| Perhaps not the least where Dr. Geddes says, (p. 5), "my task is barely to shew that the divinity of Jesus Christ was, in some sense or other, an original article of belief;" and (p. 33), "in what precise sense I should understand his godhead, I might be puzzled to determine."

Dr. Priestley readily remarks, that "the apostles do not appear ever to have heard of such a thing as kinds or degrees of divinity. In the Scriptures mention is made of one true God, and of many false gods; but of no inferior kind of true God." *Ibid.* p. 442.

Yet amidst all their amicably discussed differences, Dr. Priestley would fully accord with his learned opponent in the following conclusion :

I have already three articles for my publication, and Dr. Price's Appendix will probably make a fourth. Dr. Parr has preached a sermon at Coventry on the subject, and if he publish it, as I think he will, it will make a fifth article. Among these articles I include the *Undergraduate*. For I think we may each of us say something in a different manner, without at all interfering with one another, and mine, I foresee, will be ready a considerable time before yours. When you see what I propose to say, I think you will be convinced of the propriety of my proposal, and even derive advantage from it, when you come to write. I shall address the students, and consider him as one of their body. As you, with great propriety, take so large a scope, you must have time. I shall go to Kendal the next week, and shall probably send you my Letter to Dr. Geddes by the stage-coach.

Besides some philosophical treatises, I brought with me Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, which I have nearly read. If it was well translated, and read by unbelievers, it would have a good effect, in shewing the miserable uncertainty the heathens were in on such an important subject. I have also read a great deal in Buchanan's Poems, especially his *Baptistes* and *Jephtha*, and some books of the *Sphæra*. I have got from him a very pretty motto* for the Lectures on History I am printing, though I have a very proper one from Cicero, *De Legibus*, which I have also with me. I am also reading, for the third time, Petrarch's *De Contemptu Mundi*, and his Dialogue with St. Austin, of which there is a large extract in the Memoirs of his Life, 3 vols. 4to.

I have told you that I intended to write some memoirs of myself, to be published after my death. I have begun them here. I shall shew the work to you and Mrs. Lindsey. I do

"To discover truth, is professedly the aim of us all. Let us pursue the path that seems the most likely to lead us to her abode, with ardour, but not with animosity; and if we be convinced that we have been happy enough to find it out, let us not insult those who, in our estimation, may have been less successful." *Ibid.* p. 446, *note*.

* ——— "Juvat exhaustos iterare labores,
Et sulcata meis percurrere litora remis."

Franciscanus.

not mean to make it large, and may nearly print it while I am here.*

TO THE SAME.

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Oct. 28, 1787.

I TAKE the first opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your very valuable and altogether unexpected packet. Mrs. Rayner's present† fully compensates for all that I expect to find deficient in the subscription to my experiments, this year; and I shall write to her the next packet I make up for you. In the mean time, please to present my most thankful acknowledgments.

Your account I really cannot allow, as I know of no debt for my pamphlets. You will allow me then, when I see you, to rectify this. When I give you so much trouble about them before publication, it would be hard indeed to pay for them afterwards.

On the day you wrote to me, you would receive, I hope, my MSS. &c. The sheets of the Lectures I would not have you return at all, and only at your entire leisure; within about six weeks from that time, I wish you to peruse them. It is a task I ought not to impose upon you; but I am got into the habit of considering you as a part of myself, and, on that account, may sometimes lay too much upon you.

You will find your queries answered in the letter inclosed in the parcel. I shall send the numbers of the Bible‡ as they are printed, and hope you will not be displeased with it. Their want of paper gives me more time. What I have done has given me such a taste for the work, that I could almost resolve to publish a corrected translation of the whole Bible. But when you see what I have done, we will talk about this and other projects.§

* *Orig. MS.* See *supra*, p. 2. Mr. Joseph Priestley's preface to his father's Memoirs is dated "Northumberland, Pensylvania, May 1, 1805." They were then, probably, first printed.

† See *supra*, p. 208.

‡ Baskerville's, I apprehend, to which Dr. Priestley contributed the notes*; as he informs Mr. Bretland, "May 7, 1789."

§ *Orig. MS.*

TO REV. J. P. ESTLIN.*

DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 22, 1787.

I AM much obliged to you for the information you gave me about my son.† I think myself happy in having him under your care, in more respects than one, and hope it will be a means of improving our acquaintance. Whenever you can make it convenient to you, I hope you and Mrs. Estlin will always make my house your home, and perhaps in some vacation you may contrive to spend some time with us.

I am printing the Lectures on History, which you heard (I suppose) at Warrington.‡ When they are out of the press, I shall beg your acceptance of a copy, as also of some Letters I am printing to Dr. Geddes, Dr. Price, and others, on the controversy relating to the person of Christ.

At present I am very busy in my experiments, and have lately made some that are very interesting with respect to the theory of Chemistry; but this, I believe, is a subject that you have little time to attend to.

I beg my respectful compliments to Mrs. and Miss Estlin.§

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.||

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Nov. 27, 1787.

I SHALL give orders to send along with this a copy of my controversial pamphlets,¶ much improved, I hope, since you saw it in MS. The preface is corrected, as you seem to wish;

* Bristol, afterwards LL.D., a distinction very honourably procured for him by his pupils. Dr. Estlin died, 1817, aged 70. See W. II. viii.; Memoir, by Mrs. Barbauld, M. R. XII. 573.

† Henry. See *supra*, p. 208.

‡ Dr. Priestley writing from "Northumberland, 1799," says of Dr. Estlin, "I am not a little proud of having had such a pupil, so judicious an advocate for Christian truth, in an age in which the fascination of worldly pursuits has withdrawn so many from it." W. XVII. 133.

§ *Orig.* MS., obligingly communicated by Mrs. Estlin, with others which will appear in the later correspondence.

|| Essex Street.

¶ "Defences of Unitarianism for the year 1787." W. XVIII. 425.

but a note is added, which I will cancel by reprinting the leaf, if you disapprove of it.* It is possible that you may still think I treat with too much contempt the *Undergraduate*; but Mr. Hawkes thinks as I do, that it is quite proper as an anonymous publication, and will better precede your more serious reprehension, which he well deserves, for asserting, as he does, that he is a *young man*, &c.† Let me hear from you as soon as you can, as I shall not care to publish without your approbation.

I am glad that you seem pleased with the idea of a new translation of the Bible.‡ It does not appear to me to be a very formidable undertaking; and if you will do the New Testament, I will engage for the Old. In three years it may be done very well; and if nothing more should be done than to correct the present version, by introducing such improvements as the approved remarks of others would supply materials for, it would be well worth the while. Time will no doubt discover others; but there is no occasion to wait for them. I should prefer doing it in conjunction with *you only*, though I would get what assistance I could from Mr. Dodson and others.

I thank you for the various reading of *Phil.* But it is the printed text of the Testament I always use, which is that of Stephens, small size, and I think the order is very unnatural.

I shall be glad if my Lectures should be equally agreeable to you as you proceed. I shall send you the preface and dedication.§ What I add respecting Dr. Kippis,|| I had designed before I received your account of his intention to make use of the Lectures.

I wish much to see your work,¶ and hope it will follow mine pretty soon. A month more will finish the Lectures.**

* The note, it appears, was cancelled. See *ibid.* pp. 425—428.

† See *ibid.* p. 497, note †.

‡ See *supra*, p. 419.

§ “To Benjamin Vaughan, Esq.,” one of Dr. Priestley’s pupils at Warington. W. XXIV. 3. See *supra*, p. 59.

|| W. XXIV. 6.

¶ See *supra*, p. 414.

** *Orig. MS.*

TO DR. PRICE.*

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 4, 1787.

I WAS happy to find that you had relieved yourself from the burden of the academy. I always said it was a thing that you ought not to have undertaken.† It is a kind of work that suits only men in younger life, and men of good health and spirits.

In about a month I shall have printed off my "Lectures on History and General Policy," which I delivered at Warrington. If I had been near you I should gladly have read some parts of them to you, as you are a much better judge of the subject than I can pretend to be. The first opportunity I have, I shall beg your acceptance of a copy.

I received the copy you was so obliging as to send me of the third edition of your treatise on Morals.‡ I was glad to find subjoined to it the argument *à priori*, though you know it does not give me satisfaction. I wish, however, that every thing may be fairly laid before the public, and then *valeat quantum valere potest*. You have certainly done Dr. Clarke ample justice, much more than he did himself, on this, as well as other subjects.

I have just finished the printing of my annual controversial pamphlet, consisting of "Letters to Dr. Geddes," yourself, and "the Candidates for Orders in the two Universities." It is a great pleasure to me to address a candid opponent; and I am confident I have said nothing that can displease either Dr. Geddes or yourself. We unavoidably see things in different lights; and whatever be the cause of the mistake, there is little probability of our ever discovering it in ourselves. Others must see it for us; and to enable them to do it, we must represent things just as they appear to us. Mr. Walker,§ I hear,

* Hackney.

† See *supra*, p. 398.

‡ "A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals," (1st ed. 1757,) with "additional Notes, and a Dissertation on the Being and Attributes of the Deity." See W. XX. 496.

§ See *supra*, p. 403. Rev. George Walker, Nottingham, died, 1807, aged 71. See *Mem. of Wakefield*, (1804,) I. 227; *Athenæum*, I. 638; M. R. V. 475, 504; VIII. 577.

declines taking up the controversy; so that I really fear you will be the last Arian antagonist I shall have. I am very severe upon Mr. Howes, and also on the *Undergraduate*, who is said to be Dr. Horne; but I received the information after I had written my reply.

I forget what experiments I gave you an account of in my last. I have lately determined two things of considerable consequence; one is, that a very great proportion of the weight of fixed air is water. This I have ascertained by the loss of water in the production of fixed air from *terra ponderosa*, which will not give any without water.

The other, which is of more consequence, is, that by the decomposition of dephlogisticated and inflammable air, (the former from manganese, and the latter from iron with water,) I get very little water, but a considerable quantity of acid, which appears to be the vitriolic. I shall next use other kinds of pure and inflammable air. I have also other things in view, and, I assure you, I am very busy both in my laboratory and library.*

TO REV. T. LINDSEY.†

DEAR FRIEND,

Birmingham, Dec. 7, 1787.

I HOPE you have received the copies of my pamphlet. As it would be taken for granted that I must have heard of Dr. Horne being the *Undergraduate*, I noticed it in an addition.‡

The case respecting Manchester was as follows. Dr. Percival was one of the persons with whom Dr. Fothergill consulted about the subscription to my experiments. Of course he has wished to know how it stood. Two years ago I told him that some had dropped it. On this, without asking my consent, (which I should by no means have granted,) he mentioned it to the Philosophical Society at Manchester, of which I am a member, and they immediately sent me out of their funds, 50*l*. I was exceedingly hurt at the measure, and, for some time, seriously thought to return the money, but that it

* Orig. MS.

† Essex Street.

‡ See W. XVIII. 497, note †.

would have offended Dr. Percival, who meant well, though he did not sufficiently consult the propriety and delicacy that the case required.

There have been so many mortifying circumstances attending this subscription, that I have often been on the point of giving it up. I have done so with respect to some persons. But if I did it with respect to all, as I have no other resource to maintain me, I must give almost my whole time to teaching, in some form or other, and could do nothing for the public at large.

But I do not like to think or speak of any thing unpleasant. I confide in a good Providence, and generally look to the bright side of every thing. And being engaged so far as I now am, I shall devote what remains of the active part of my life to whatever public service I am qualified for. As I consider Mrs. Rayner's kindness as procured by you, I shall always consider you and Mrs. Lindsey as my best friends; and if I have been of any use in the world, you are the cause of it.

I cannot think of undertaking the translation of the Bible without you. Indeed, I see so many passages in the *Hagiographa* and the Prophets, that I can make nothing of, that I am much discouraged, and yet I would willingly give three or four years to the business, if I thought I should do any good. When I see you, we will talk farther about it. I will get Merrick on the Psalms without troubling you. I see Lowth and Blayney quote Darell on the Prophets. Is there any such book?

Please to send a copy of the pamphlet to Mr. Constable. I am now about some important experiments, and shall write to Dr. Heberden about them soon.

When I look back, and see what I wrote last night, I am ashamed to have said so much about myself.

Yours ever sincerely,

most affectionately

J Priestley

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